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THE

Indian Caste.

VOLUME I.

KONKANI

OR

GOAN CASTES

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PREFACE.

The notes on the several communities that make up the Konkani speaking people of Western India, with those on the Konkani Language, Alphabet for Konkani, and the Christian Puran of Father Stephens, have appeared in the *Mangalore Magazine*, the *Malabar Quarterly Review*, the *Catholic Examiner* and the *Anglo-Lusitano*, and are now republished with slight additions and modifications at the request of several friends. Wedged in between the Gujerati and Marathi speaking communities, the Konkani people occupy, from an ethnographic point of view, a unique position. The Brahman portion of the Konkanis, the Gaud Sarasvats, and other Konkani high castes as well as their Christian converts, have furnished Western India with some of its most prominent men, to mention only Hon. Mr. Justice Chandawarkar, Dr. Bhandarkar, the late Justice Telang, Doctors DaGama, Lisboa, and Gerson da Cunha. The origin and history of these communities must therefore be exceedingly interesting. The Christian Puran was for long the family Bible of the Konkani Christian communities of Goa and Kanara, and an essay about it finds therefore a proper place in these series. The Puran, we may mention by the way, is being printed by the Codialbail Press of the Jesuit Fathers at Mangalore.

The notes are linked together under an introductory essay on Indian Caste. In India we cannot treat of native communities without taking into account the sway the caste system plays in their social organization.

Appendix III contains the proclamation of the Partgal Swami declaring the equality of the Sashtikar and Bardeshkar Brahmans—a step in the direction of fusion of sub-castes. A short account is also given of the action taken by the various Swamis in regard to the "England returned" question, which threatens to a further break up of the castes.

The Konkani people comprise a large number of Christians and Mahomedans. We shall find it proved that we are

all brethren, that are united by ties of blood and the same language, and being children of the same Father in Heaven, it behoves us to live in unity and amity. The Christians claim to be the adopted children of God by supernatural grace restored to us by the death of the Redeemer, our Lord Jesus Christ, yet by natural right we are all—Hindus, Christians and Mahomedans—the children of the same Creator. "For of Him, and by Him and in Him are things: to Him be glory for ever." "God is not a respector of persons, but in every nation, he that feareth Him and worketh justice, is acceptable to Him." Hindus, Christians and Mussalmans as we are, we can therefore be united in co-operating together in patience, toleration, forbearance and love, and in one common sublime Faith and ethics and prayer, as contained in the universal prayer: "Our Father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen."

With reference to the notes on the Konkani language, the author's attention has only recently been drawn to the opinion expressed by the famous scholar Dr. Grierson in his chapter on Language in the recent Indian Census Report, Vol I, namely that Konkani forms only one of the three dialects of the Marathi language, the other two being the Desi and the Marathi variety spoken in the Berars and the Central Provinces. "Several varieties of the Desi Marathi" writes Dr. Grierson "are mentioned, of which we may name the Sanjameshwari "and the Bankoti of the Central Konkan and the Kudali and "Malwani spoken lower down between Rajapur and Goa and "in the State of Savantvadi. These four are the transitional "forms of speech between the standard dialect and Konkani. * "* * * Konkani is spoken in the Konkan, South of Goa and "throughout the districts of north Kanara and Belgaum. Goa-"nese itself is a form of it. It differs more widely from the "standard Marathi than any of the other dialects and local pri-"de leads to its being given the dignity of a distinct language." The gulf however between all the Marathi dialects on the one side and Konkani on the other is, it is submitted, so wide, that Konkani may be given the position of a distinct language

in the sense of the word "language" as understood and distinguished from the word "dialect" in philology. In this connection the reader's attention is invited to the author's remarks in the Essay on the Puran of Fr. Stephens (Appendix II) in regard to the language in which that work is composed. Whatever may be the differences of opinions on the matter, there will perhaps be no difficulty in admitting that both Konkani and Marathi should be regarded in the light of twin sisters, the one largely built and the other much smaller in size, but as complete and beautiful in form, and both born together of the same mother, the Maharashtra or some other Prakrit dialect. Hence the necessity for the Konkani people having little of their own, to drink deep at the fountain of the magnificent Marathi literature, especially a work like Fr. Stephen's Puran, the language of which, though Marathi in its structure, contains an admixture of lexicon very close to that of Konkani.

Owing to the author's other heavy engagements at a great distance from the press, the *labor limæ* in revising the proofs has been somewhat spared and the printer's devil is so much in evidence in these notes, that a list of corrigenda has to be prefixed to them. Some of the notes were written with a view to assist the Ethnographic Department of Government in their interesting but by no means easy work of collecting materials for the ethnographic survey of India. It is hoped that they will be found useful by that Department as well as by the public, including the legal profession for whom a knowledge of the peculiar usages and customs of the several castes and sub-castes must be very important.

Corrections and suggestions for improving upon the notes will be thankfully accepted by the author.

J. A. S.

March, 10-1904

PART FIRST.

The Indian Caste.

Caste is an institution which is peculiar to the Hindus of India and certain communities converted from Hinduism to other religions, notably Christianity. It has to be taken into serious account by all who have to do anything with them whether for the administration of their country or for bringing them under the influences of a higher civilization or religion. Caste is the Himalaya of Hindu society, by which their ancient racial, social and religious characteristics have been preserved almost intact and unchanged for centuries. It has been the barrier against barbarism as well as against progress among the Hindus. Ancient custom binds the Hindus because custom is bound by caste. A careful study of the Indian caste, its origin, its distinctive features, its growth and the power it wields is of the highest importance for those, who are concerned in Indian affairs whether as a missionary, or a student of its peoples or institutions, or as an administrator.

Origin of Caste.

2. A caste is one of the hereditary classes into which Hindu society is divided. The original castes are described in *Manu's laws* (about 200 B. C.):—"The self existent Lord, for the prosperity of the world, caused to proceed from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet, the *Brahman*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaisya* and *Shudra*. To the Brahmans he ordained the duties of teaching, study, sacrifice and sacrificing (for others), also giving and receiving gifts. The duties of Kshatriya were to protect the people, to bestow gifts, to study the Vedas and to abstain from sensual pleasure. The Vaisya to tend cattle, give alms, sacrifice, study, trade, lend money and cultivate the land. One duty only the Lord assigned to the Shudra, to serve meekly the other castes. The birth of a Brahman is a constant incarnation of *dharma*; for he exists for the sake of *dharma*; and becomes one with Brahma. Whatever exists in the universe is the property of the Brahman; for on account of the eminence of his birth, the Brahman is entitled to it all. ...The Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaisya are the three *twice-born* castes; but the fourth, the Shudra, has one birth only. There

is *no fifth* caste. From a Kshatriya and the daughter of a Shudra springs a creature called an *Ugra*. From a Shudra are born by women of the Vaisya, Kshatriya and Brahman castes, by mixed caste, an *Ayogava*, a *Ksattar* and a *Chandala*, the basest of men. The *mixture of castes* is produced by adultery, by marriage with women who ought not to be married, and by the neglect of prescribed duties. All those tribes of men which are excluded from those born from the mouth, the arms, the thigh and the foot of Brahma are called *Dasyus*, whether they speak the language of the Mlekhhas or that of the Aryas."

3. There are described here four broad distinct classes: (1) the twice-born castes, (2) the Shudra caste, (3) the *no-caste* people—the Dasyus, and (4) the mixed castes. Besides the mixed castes mentioned by Manu, there are other such castes mentioned in *Yajnavalkya*:—*Ambastha* (issue of a Brahman by a Vaisya wife), *Magadha*, *Nishada* and others. Mixed marriages, which account for many of these mixed castes, were expressly allowed in Hindu scriptures, though their issue occupied a lower position than children of parties of the same caste. It is not only that mixed castes have sprung up, but the old castes have broken up into *sub-castes* and *new castes* have been formed, by (1) change or distance of domicile, (2) religious differences and rise of sects, (3) excommunications for breach of caste rules, (4) formation of professional or trade guilds, (5) incorporation in Hindu society of non-Aryan tribes, well organized and civilized like the Aryans, who had themselves been divided into classes tending to develop into castes. India is thus broken up into thousands of communities prohibited from intermarriage, inter-dining and other forms of social intercourse, communities which like crystals, cannot easily unite or mix, but easily break into smaller bodies.

Features of Caste.

4. The main features of caste may now be briefly described :—

(i) The members of each caste are considered to be equal in rank and as a rule bound to pursue the same profession or the profession which is most akin to it.

(ii) Castes are well organized communities, whose affairs are controlled by a panch or council of elders, nominally five in number, or a spiritual head or *guru*.

(iii) The religion, custom, costumes, sphere of ambition of the members of the caste are marked out from birth to death and even in the next world, and their practices of daily life are laid down in minutest detail.

(iv) The members of each caste are bound by social intercourse in matters of ordinary life within the caste. They must marry within the caste and cannot marry outside the caste, a practice which is called *endogamy*. This prohibition must be distinguished from that which prohibits Brahmans from marrying a woman of his own *gotra*, one of his *pravaras* and his *sapindas*, relatives extending to certain generations. The last is a prohibition on account of kinship. The *gotras* and *pravaras* are mysteries, of which a solution has not been found. The Brahmans claim that they have descended from seven or more *Rishis*, patriarchs to whom were revealed the Vedas—and that the gotras mark this descent. It is believed by some that this relationship must have been principally religious or literary. It was perhaps real, resulting from left-handed marriages of these ancient patriarchs. Pravaras are supposed to be ancestors sharing in sacrificial invocations. They are perhaps the names of the members of the household of the old Rishis from whom the Brahmans descend. Gotras and pravaras should not be confused with *charanas*, that is, a number of men who were pledged to the reading or rather reciting a certain *Shakha* or branch of the Veda, by means of *memoria technica*, which gradually gave rise to the *Sutras*. There was no prohibition of marriages on account of the literary relationship of charanas. While the prohibition of marriage within the same gotra or pravara is based on proximity of kinship (*exogamy*), the prohibition against marriage outside the caste (*endogamy*), is based on distance of kinship. Besides intermarriage, *interdining* between higher and lower castes is also forbidden. A member of the higher caste will not take water fetched by a member of the lower caste, will not take meals *chakki* prepared by means of water by such a one, and will not take such meals with him on the same *pankti* (line). The twice-born, as the three higher castes of the Hindus are called, will by no means dine with the lower castes

in the same room. The three higher castes can eat *pakki* (things prepared without being mixed in water) together and from one another. The lower castes in this respect are treated in various degrees of contempt and exclusion according to their relative position.

(v) But the most striking feature of caste and the one which is the most objectionable, is the hereditary and perpetual monopoly of privileges both on earth and in heaven, which each superior caste claims over the other, notably the Brahman. All treatises written by the Brahmans, which make the least reference to classes, contain passages dwelling on the exalted rank of their caste. The burden of the song in all these treatises is that the world was created and exists for the Brahmans. With these notions about their position, what wonder that there should be Brahmans who would wash their hands after shaking hands with an European, who would consider it a heinous sin to allow a low-caste however educated and accomplished to enter Government service which is under their control, who would consider themselves polluted if a Shudra or Mahar should cross him even at a distance. The higher castes other than the Brahmans are not a whit better in their relationship to lower castes. This spirit of intolerance is not peculiar only to the higher castes. In fact there is no caste in India which has not a lower caste below it to trod upon and treat with contempt. Racial and professional pride is the source of the arrogance of every caste in relation to another which is lower than it. This flame of pride is constantly kept alive to maintain caste distinction in full vigour, and to make life as pleasant as possible for the higher caste at the cost of the lower.

(vi) Another important feature of caste in this connection, which should not be lost sight of, is that a man who is excommunicated from a caste will not be welcomed by another caste even an inferior one. He must find his place in a new caste which may be formed by his followers, or must mix himself with no-caste people. When this excommunication is due to change of religion or grave misdemeanour, even his nearest relations will not allow him to enter their homes or to have anything to do with them. To be an out-caste usually means complete social and family ostracism, and is the greatest punishment that a man may incur in India.

Castes Among Other Nations.

5. Castes in India have many points of resemblance with various classes in ancient and mediæval European nations, in ancient Egypt, and in Palestine among the Jews. But the points of distinction between them must not be lost of, whether in their character or history. In ancient Ireland there was a class of priests called *Brehons*, who were the hereditary depositories of the religion and law of the country. But on the conversion of the Irish by St. Patrick and his companions, the sacerdotal authority of the Brehons passed to a celibate clergy and monks recruited from every rank of life. The *Druids* of the ancient British held the same position and met the same fate as the Brehons. Both in ancient Ireland and Britain we find an hereditary aristocracy; but this aristocracy could be recruited by the king from the people by grants of land or cattle, or rewards for meritorious services in war. Acquisition of wealth also raised a commoner into the grades of aristocracy. For instance in ancient Ireland the *Aires* or noblemen were graded according to their wealth from the *Air-desas* or knights upwards. A commoner who acquired twice as much wealth as an air-desa was regarded as an air-desa. In ancient Rome, the aristocracy called *Patricians* were a hereditary privileged order separated from the plebs, but there soon arose from among the people a new aristocracy born of wealth and military prowess, which amalgamated with the ancient Patricians; and out of this fusion rose the *optimates*. The later Roman aristocracy always recruited its forces from the plebs, and was therefore never exclusive. In Germany of old there was a class called *Goti*, or born of gods, a priestly order who lay claim to a high birth like the Brahmans. In the middle ages in Europe we trace the *Estates* or privileged orders of chiefs, princes, nobles and the clergy, raised far above the citizens or middle class and the common people. This aristocracy tended always to become hereditary and exclusive, but there was never a time when the king did not recruit the nobility from the lower classes by raising men for eminent services to the State especially in war. The Christian clergy, a highly privileged order, could not claim a divine descent, but rested their claims to special privileges from divine institution. The order of priests was however in one sense a very democratic

institution, in that it opened its portals to the fittest from every rank of society, and it stood always between the lowest classes such as serfs and slaves, and the higher classes, as the protector and saviour of the former ; and to the Church and its priests must be attributed the emancipation of the serfs and slaves in Europe. On the contrary the influence of Brahminism has always been to keep in check, ignorance and poverty the lower classes. Social ranks in Egypt were divided somewhat sharply into three higher classes, namely (1) the aristocracy, who were mostly landed proprietors possessing large estates and having under them a vast body of dependants, servants, artizans, etc. ; (2) the official class, and (3) the literary class. Below these three classes were the people engaged in manual labour of various kinds, which were looked down upon by the higher classes. "Still the line of demarcation," remarks Professor Rawlinson in his *Story of Ancient Egypt*, "decided as it was, might be crossed. It is an entire mistake to suppose that caste existed in Egypt. Men frequently bred up their sons to their own trade or profession, as they do in all countries, but they were not obliged to do so—there was absolutely no compulsion in the matter. The public schools of Egypt were open to all comers, and the son of the artizan sat on the same bench with the son of the noble, enjoyed the same education, and had an equal opportunity of distinguishing himself. If he showed sufficient promise, he was recommended to adopt the literary life, and the literary life was a sure passport to State employment. State employment once entered upon, merit secured advancement, and thus there was in fact no obstacle to prevent the son of a labouring man from rising to the very highest positions in the administration of the empire. Successful ministers were usually rewarded by large grants of land from the royal domain ; and it follows that a clever youth of the labouring class might by good conduct and ability make his way even into the ranks of the landed aristocracy."

6. Turning to the Israelites we find that out of the 12 tribes only one, that of Levi, was especially selected by Moses for service in the temple, and out of this tribe of Levi only the house of Aaron selected for the priesthood. The levites and priests were allowed no share in the territorial division of Palestine, but were to live on the offerings of the people in the temple and the tithes. The house of Aaron

did not enjoy the prerogative bestowed on it without a challenge from a powerful section of the Israelites. For soon after the institution of the priesthood, a revolt of two hundred and fifty men, partly of the tribe of Ruben and partly of the tribe of Levi was led by Core against Aaron for what they called arrogating the priestly office to himself. The revolt was, we know, put down by divine intervention. From this time the priesthood continued undisturbed in the family Aaron, the rest of the tribe of Levi attending to the services of the temple outside the tabernacle. The priests of the house of Aaron were prohibited from "mingling the stock of their kindred with the common people of their nation" (Lev. xxi). Their daughters however could be married into families of the common people, subject only to the penalty of losing the right of eating the first fruits or sanctified things (Lev. xxii). Apart from this restriction of intermarriage between the priestly families and the common people we do not discover in the Jewish nation any other restriction in social intercourse by intermarriage or interdining among their tribes. But the Israelites in their relation to the surrounding tribes were an exclusive caste in matter of marriage as well as taking food. This exclusiveness lasted even at the time of Christ. As an instance of it we might mention the great excitement created among the Christian Jews when St. Peter received Cornelius, a Roman centurion into the church and ate with him. "Why didst go to men uncircumcised and didst eat with them" they asked St. Peter. The first Pope explained how "God gave them the same grace as to us also, who believe in Lord Jesus Christ."

Growth of Caste System in India.

6. While a hereditary priestly class was being formed on the banks of the Jordan, a similar process was going on the banks of the Indus, where about 2000 years before Christ the Aryans had settled. The Aryans were sharply divided from the aboriginal tribes whom they had conquered and whom they called *Dasyus*. This term, which originally meant people or tribes, was applied by the Aryans to the conquered Dravidian or Turanian tribes—a flat nosed and dark skinned people who ate raw meat, offered no sacrifices and were dangerous sorcerers, as they are described in the *Rigveda*. The Aryans reduced these Dasyus to slavery or serfdom, and like the

Helots of Sparta the word "Dasyus" came to mean slaves or serfs. The distinction between the Aryans and the Dasyus corresponded to that between the rulers and Helots of Sparta between whom intercourse of any sort was impossible, the modern Hindu distinction between the *twice born* and the *non castes* and the distinction between the *Whites* and *Negroes* in the United States. The mass of the Aryans were called *Visas* or *Vaisya*, and as they were mostly occupied in agriculture and trade, the term was gradually applied to those who followed these professions. The warriors and chiefs were called *Rajayanas* or *Kshatriyas*, and the conductors of Brahma or prayers were called *Brahmans*. During the early Vedic period, it is believed, * there were classes, shifting, but not hereditary, pursuing these professions. Not only that, we find that the Aryan tribes themselves were engaged in a fearful civil war during the Vedic times, and some of the tribes allied with the hated Dasyus having Vishvamitra one of the Rishis as their priest, fought against the Aryan Sudas with Vasistha as their priest (*Rigveda* vii., 83). Vishvamitra, be it noted, was not originally a Brahmin, but obtained that rank by superhuman feats of ascetism. Vishvamitra in his hymns (*Rigveda* iii.) calls his allies Bharatas, and praises them as wise. Evidently we have here an instance of the adoption of a non-Aryan tribe into the Aryan stock.

7. The first idea of division between the Aryans and the hinduised non-Aryans into hereditary classes or professions is found in the following lines in the *Rigveda* Book X :—

"When the gods divided Purusha, into how many parts did they cut him up? What was his mouth? What his arms? What his thighs and feet? The Brahmin was his mouth; Rajanya was made from his arms: the Vaisya was his thigh; the Shudra sprang from his feet."

Here is a description which indicates the hereditary nature, relation and character of each of the professions. The tenth book of the Rigveda was a later production, and marks the development that had taken place in society since the first hymns of the *Vedas* were written. We would not however go so far with Dr. Wilson and others who have adopted his opinion, as to hold that the priestly class had not yet become hereditary and exclusive. Even the Brehons of ancient Ireland, the Druids of Britain, the Goti of Germany, the

* Wilson's *Indian Caste*, and Ragozan's *Vedic India*.

Jewish priests were in the most ancient times hereditary communities. In ancient India too, in the Vedic times, we have indications of an elaborate religious ritual, which required a separate class of educated men to master and conduct. There must therefore have arisen a class of men who had the monopoly of the knowledge of the ritual or the rubrics called the *brahmanas* ; and as their intricate and elaborate details were not yet reduced to writing, and had to be committed to memory and handed down from generation to generation, there arose an *hereditary* class of priests. In fact the *charanas* above described were a hereditary class of priests, who handed down *shakas* of the Vedas by strings of rules called the *sutras*. On account of the eminent sanctity attached to these priests their intercourse with the other classes, especially the common people, gradually ceased. They yet condescended to take maidens from lower classes in marriage—which were however regarded as *mesalliances* though not illegal unions. Their girls however were never married into other classes. Hence there arose the Brahman caste. Similar causes led to the formation of the Kshatriya caste. The common people, separated from the conquered people (Shudras) and from low barbarous tribes (Dasyus), yet retained their old name of Visas or Vaishyas.

8. Castes in this stage of development are found to exist in distinct outline in the society depicted by the great *Epics* of the Hindus. But it must not be supposed that the professions were so sharply divided as to exclude all possibility of the members of one caste pursuing the profession of another. A Kshatriya was frequently a religious teacher, as a Brahman was a leader in war or a king. A Brahmanic dynasty ruled for a long time at Pataliputra. Vasudeva, the father of Krishna and a Kshatrya, was the father of the Bhakti School. Nor must it be supposed that the castes were confined only to the Aryans, or to the four classes usually mentioned. In those days, as we have stated above, intermarriages of the males of the higher castes were allowed with females of the lower castes ; and the issues of these connections were classed as a caste below that of the wife, except when the tribe of the wife was more or less on a level with that of the husband and the progeny was not considered degraded or was raised to the husband's caste after some generations. Thus arose several mixed castes—to which the Hindu writers gave the names of

ambastha (issue of a Brahman and Vaishya female), *Ugra*, *Nishada*, *Magadha*, *Chandala*, etc. As a matter of fact these were the names of the several non-Aryan conquered tribes of India. Many of these tribes were gradually incorporated into Hindu society and formed new *race castes* and *professional* castes.

9. In Northern India some of these non-Aryan tribes incorporated in the Hindu society must have been classed with the higher castes, as were the Bharatas. Such must also have been the case in Western and Southern India. Consisting, as the population of these parts of India did, of well organized communities with powerful kingdoms and highly developed languages like Tamil, Telegu, Malyalam and Kanarese, they offered such a strong resistance to the incursions of the Aryans, that like the Normans after their conquest of England, the Aryan conquerors, while imparting much of their religion and civilization to the conquered races, had to incorporate themselves into their society and adopt their languages. Classes according to rank and profession exist in every society and must have existed also among the Dravidians. The influence of the Aryan conquest was probably to crystalize these classes into castes. In fact the caste system found even a more congenial soil in Southern India than in Northern India, and shows its worst features of inflexible rigidity and intolerance the further we go south. This state of things suggests the theory that it was not the Aryans that introduced the caste system into India but that the Dravidians of Southern India must have driven the Aryans into a system of exclusive hereditary classes, which had already existed among themselves before the advent of the Aryans. This is not the place for discussing the correctness of this theory, but we mention it here with a view to bring into strong relief the influence of the Dravidian civilization on the Aryans, which some scholars are too apt to overlook. The fact cannot be denied that there sprung up out of the Dravidian and other tribes in Southern India hinduised by the Brahmans, castes of priests, warriors, kings, cultivators, traders and innumerable others, who stood on a level with the Aryan castes, and who have carried the caste system to an extreme of exclusiveness, rigidity and intolerance for which a parallel can be found nowhere in Northern India or elsewhere in the world in the past or present. The

picture of Abbe Dubois in his *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies* might look exaggerated to the mild Hindu of Bombay; but to one who has lived long in a district like Malabar or Madura there will be found nothing surprising in the graphic descriptions of the famous priest.

Power of Caste.

10. Wherever they borrowed the caste system, the Brahmans found it the most powerful machinery for extending and retaining their hold over the numberless Indian tribes, to bring new tribes within the pale of Hinduism, without at the same time freely mingling with the low classes and losing the integrity and purity of their ancient Aryan blood. The Brahmans found no difficulty in effecting a compromise with the religions of the conquered tribes, by making Hinduism an all-embracing medley of monotheism, pantheism, polytheism, animism, fetichism and every gross superstition, combined with the highest flights of philosophical speculation, and brought within the fold of this all-embracing and comprehensive religion every race and tribe of India. In fact every community, every profession and every sect was allowed to retain their own peculiar customs and religion, however barbarous and low, with a tincture of Brahmanism, and under the control of the Brahman. Hinduism thus became part of the ancient customs of the people and customs at the same time were bound by caste. This process of driving Brahmanism into ancient custom and custom into caste was well calculated to deepen the devotion of the people to their religion, and to make it impossible to shake off the trammels of Brahmanism; it made custom, religion and the Brahman all the more hallowed and powerful, while preserving the racial characteristics of the classes in almost complete purity. The wisdom of the Brahman never served him better than when he had recourse to this trick of an all-embracing and tolerant religious system combined with the most narrow, rigid, inflexible and intolerant system of caste.

11. The powerful hold of caste on the communities in India is illustrated by the futile results of the campaigns conducted against it by a non-caste religion like Buddhism, which reigned in India for several centuries before and after Christ. In the struggle that went for centuries Buddhism

succumbed to the caste system, and under the skillful tactics of the Brahmans with this powerful weapon, their religion has once more reestablished its supremacy in India. Even Christianity has yielded itself to its influences, and there are found in India Christian communities among whom caste system holds its sway, as among the Konkani Christians of Western India, to whom special chapters are devoted in this pamphlet. Many Roman Catholic missionaries, fully grasping its great power, have tried the experiment of building up Christianity on the basis of caste, rid however of the features most objectionable from a Christian point of view. The extraordinary success of the Catholic missionaries not only in the territories under the Portuguese sphere of influence but outside that sphere from the 16th to 18th centuries, like Fr. Nobile, Beschi, Brito, and of many Catholic Missions, that are now working in India with very slender means, must be attributed to a great extent to the wise policy of tolerating caste freed from its monopolies of heavenly and earthly privileges and of regulating their own food and habits of life as consistently as possible with caste prejudices.

Advantages of Caste System.

12. The powerful hold of caste system in a country like India is not without its advantages.

(I). Firstly it is by means of hereditary professional castes that in India languages, sciences, industries and arts are acquired and mastered from childhood, are preserved from generation to generation, and perfected to an extent which is the admiration of all foreign nations. It is therefore *the caste system that has saved India from barbarism and is the cause of the extraordinary perfection and beauty, its Sanscrit literature, philosophic systems, sciences, arts and industries have attained to.*

(II) Secondly.—Castes are such well organized bodies—that like clubs and associations—they afford an easy means of an internal administration of the affairs of each caste and of regulating the relationship for administrative and social purposes between different communities. For the purpose of settling local petty disputes the caste *panchayats* are perhaps the best means of administering justice, without the artificial form of evidence produced in our Law Courts. For the purpose

of local executive administration of villages and municipalities, the several professional castes of artisans, messengers, accountants, etc. play their parts generally so harmoniously, that all Governments have availed themselves of their caste machinery with the greatest efficiency. The well organized caste units under the control of the Brahmans afforded easy means to political leaders like Shivaji or religious reformers like Chaitnya for a successful propaganda of their ideas and combinations for carrying out their ambitious designs.

(III) Caste panalties, especially the extreme and intolerable punishment of degradation from caste, furnish powerful weapons for maintaining a discipline and a high moral tone among its members according to its ideals. These penalties often act as stronger deterrents to crime than even the penal laws of the State. Hindu communities converted to Christianity, when freed from the trammels of caste system, sink in many cases very low morally, because christian missionaries are unable to provide in its place a machinery as strong as caste for maintaining moral discipline among the converts. Hence our best converts are those among whom caste system still obtains under the care of a zealous priesthood.

Evils of Caste System.

13. At the same time the evils of caste system are many.

(I) Firstly, the Hindu ethical basis of caste is unsound. Provided a native of India observes the caste rules as to marriage, eating, ablutions, outword ceremonies and crossing the *kala pani*, worships the cows and feeds the Brahmins, he remains a Hindu, never mind what he believes and how he acts beyond the caste rules. Classes arising out of race distinctions, conquest of one tribe by another, distinct professions, and wealth exist everywhere in the world. But where classes *crystallize into caste, perpetuating by impassable barriers aggrandizement of one class at the cost of the other, monopolizing for ever for the benefit of one class the highest privileges Heaven and Earth can bestow, there arises a state of society which no ethical creed can uphold.* Who can deny that both Hindu shastras and usage enforce such a system with all the rigour that religion

and law can call to their aid ? We are not blind to some of the advantages of caste, but the advantages of caste as enforced by the Hindu religion are far more than counterbalanced by its evils. Caste within certain restrictions is not altogether incompa ible even with a non-caste religion like Christianity, but caste as perpetuating serfdom on the one hand and an exclusive aristocracy on the other is opposed to all moral law. The history of Christianity has been to a great extent a struggle against slavery, serfdom and tyranny. Its work in India will largely consist, if not in demolishing caste altogether, at least in softening its rigours and opening all professions and trades and all the privileges of the State and Church to all without distinction of caste but with due regard to merit and virtue. Christianity can raise a poorest peasant to priesthood, and will even make him a Bishop, a Cardinal, nay, even a Pope.

(II.) The principle of caste system is that within the sphere of its functions and privileges, the caste exists for its members and the members for their caste—*Clannishness* therefore pervades Indian Society from t p to bottom. Open for instance the door of a lucrative service to a member of a caste, you will find the whole service flooded by the caste in a few years, unless you manage to check the rush of the flood before it is too late. No crime committed by a member of the caste in the service will see the light. Transfers of Heads of Offices in India are so frequent that their chitnises, sheristedars and *et ad hoc genus omne* easily manage by skillful transfers, and other manœuvers to secure the maximum of benefits to their own clan to the exclusion of other classes. A chitnis sometimes even at the sacrifice of promotion sticks to his post for years apparently in the interests of the service to place at the disposal of the constantly shifting officers his long experience of routine. Meanwhile it happens that all the best and fattest appointments in the subordinate services go to his own caste people, that is, members of his own particular Sub-Caste : for the chitnis manages to exclude primarily the members of the other sub-castes of his own caste, whom he so heartily hates. *Patriotism and charity run in India to a great extent on caste and sub-caste lines.*

(III) Another great evil of caste system is that professional castes stick to their hereditary primitive machinery or imple-

ments with a tenacity, which it is very difficult to get over. They are so slow to avail themselves of new inven ions. It is for this reason caste is a barrier against progress, as it has been a barrier against barbarism in the past. Hence the great importance of taking into confidence the professional castes in order to make them appreciate the advantages of improvement elsewhere. Much can be done to bring home to the people the advantages of improved machinery and industries by holding exhibitions of them at fairs, places of pilgrimage, where crowds gather. Small industrial exhibitions held periodically in the Taluka head quarters will be also a step in the right direction. When people come to appreciate the benefits of new machinery, implements or industries the castes will readily offer to send their boys to acquire a knowledge of them to the technical schools, provided some pecuniary assistance, in the shape of small scholarships, is given to some of them. *Industries in India run on caste lines, and so should technical education run alongside the castes.*

(17) The worst of evils arising from caste system is that it cuts off the main channel of social intercourse between man and man, that is, the use of the common table, except between members of the caste. This is the great bugbear of Hindu social life, that haunts a Hindu wherever he moves for fear of touching food cooked by a man of another caste, whom he regards as lower than his own. To prevent such a dreadful calamity he will spare no trouble or money to an extent which goes to ridiculous lengths. It is the dread of this pollution that stands in the way of a Hindu crossing the ocean to regions like Europe, where there are not likely to be facilities for his eating food cooked by members of the caste or of a higher caste. So many of our England returned young men stand now cut adrift from the dearest to them by excommunication !

14. Alas for India ! can we not like the Japanese move with the times, while holding to our past ? But India must

move on caste ridden and custom bound for centuries more. Every onward movement only splits castes into irreconcilable sub-divisions, and makes confusion only more confounded.

15. In illustration of the various points on which stress has been laid above, the author will take for an ethnographic survey the Hindu castes and sub-castes, and the Christian and Mahomedan castes and sub-castes that have grown out of them, among the people that speak the beautiful Konkani tongue, his own vernacular.

PART SECOND.

Konkani or Goan

Language.

PART SECOND.

Konkani or Goan Language.

The Cultivation of Konkani.

Language is one of the greatest gifts bestowed on man. The expression of his thoughts by means of articulate sounds is perhaps his noblest prerogative, since it forges the bond that holds society together. A language or tongue that is carefully cultivated and enriched as it is handed down through successive generations is, after religion, the most important factor in the civilization of mankind. The particular language that plays this important part in each section of human society is naturally the mother tongue of that people, nation or community; and the more that tongue is cultivated and enriched the higher will be the civilization of the speakers of the same.* A people with a neglected or uncultivated vernacular must naturally be in a retrograde state, for intellectual development is impeded and education must necessarily be in a backward state. This seems to apply in a very particular way to the Konkani speaking communities of Western India. Their once noble language is to-day destitute of a literature worthy of its high character, and is so neglected and despised that all those whose means of education can afford it substitute a foreign tongue in its stead. Advantageous as a foreign tongue may be, it cannot be denied that it is an artificial and exotic substitute for what ought to be natural and indigenous. We have among us in the speech of the descendants of those who adopted the Portuguese language and customs, an object-lesson of what is likely to occur again to those who follow in their footsteps. In any case the mother tongue is bound to prevail among the mass of the Konkani-speaking people, and for their sake, as they are our kinsmen, countrymen and co-religionists, it behoves us to promote the cultivation of the language that is ours and is bound to be ours to the end of time. That Konkani has fallen in o disrepute is due to our own neglect. But take it on its instrinsic merits, examine its structure and phraseology, and it will disclose a variety of

* The subject has been dealt with mor fully in the writer's pamphlet on the *Cultivation of our Vernaculars* published by the Examiner Press, Bombay.

expression and a wealth of verbiage that should place it among the first languages of the world. What it deserves and calls for from us is that it should be restored to its birthright and the inheritance it rightly owns. Or to quote the words of Father Maffei:—"As Konkani itself is a beautiful language, but is reduced to servitude, it can become or rather can be shown to be a beautiful language, if, taking pity on it, we deliver it from slavery." In it are hidden powers and beauties, which will make our hearts throb with pride and excite the admiration of the world, if we pluck from the brow of this uncrowned queen the dark veil that has so long obscured her fair features through our indifference and neglect and let her reign by virtue of her native beauty and grace.

Geographical distribution of Konkani.

2. The language which is the subject of my paper is known by the three names "Konkani," "Kanarine," and "Gomantaki," or "Goan," of which the most commonly used designation is Konkani. Various are the theories explaining the origin of the word Konkani, the most commonly put forward being, that it must be traced to Konkan, the territory between the Western Ghauts and the Sea and between Goa and Bombay, the southern portion of which is believed to have been the original seat of the language, where it is at present mainly spoken. The name "Kanarine" is used in some works of foreigners, for instance in the Catechism of the Christian Doctrine published by Fr. Stephens, S. J., in 1632, under the title *Doutrina Christã em lingua Bramana-Kanarim.* The early Portuguese visitors probably confused our language with Kanarese, the other tongue spoken near Goa. The term "Goan" is in vogue because Goa is, both historically and geographically the principal centre of the Konkani language, which is the speech of about 350,000 Christians who constitute the majority of the population of that territory, and about 50,000 Goan Christians, who have settled in British territory. The language of the Goans has borrowed largely from the Portuguese, especially religious and social terms, and exhibits varieties according to the districts into which Goa is divided, viz.: Bardez, Ilhas and Salsette, as well as according to the castes into which society is divided, viz.: Bahmons, Chardos, Sudras, Gaudos, etc. The people of Salsette, for instance,

speak with much more quickness and in a more singing way than the people of Bardez, whereas the latter use more broad vowels and less nasal sounds than the former. The next important Christian community, whose vernacular is Konkani, are the Native Christians of Kanara numbering about 100,000. They are divided into castes like the Goans and appear to be the descendants either of the original settlers converted by the Portuguese missionaries or of Christians, who fled from Goa in consequence of the invasion of that territory by the Mahrattas, or who left Goa in search of better prospects as cultivators and traders in Kanara, where the native princes are said to have received them with open arms. The Christians of Kanara were a most prosperous class in the eighteenth century, numbering about 60,000 souls, when some 50,000 were carried away captives to Mysore by Tippu Sultan in 1784, of whom only about 10,000 returned after the fall of Seringapatam in 1799. It is very interesting to find at the present day not only Christian descendants of the captive Kanara Christians in Mysore and Coorg, but even their Mussalman descendants near Seringapatam, who speak a mixture of Konkani and Hindustani. The Konkani used by the Bahmen Christians of Kanara is striking by its broad vocalic sounds and the almost entire absence of nasal twangs and sing-song pronunciation. Having been hardly in touch with Portuguese civilization and living amidst a Hindu population for a long period, the Konkani Christians of Kanara have adopted fewer Portuguese words than the Goans into their language, but have borrowed instead a small number of Kanarese words.

3. The Hindus whose speech is Konkani can be divided into two classes, (1) Gomantaki, Gaud-Sarasvat or Shenvi Brahmins and sub-castes, and (2) non-Brahmins, numbering about 200,000 and found scattered in Goa, Kanara, Konkan, Bombay and Central India. We shall treat of the sub-divisions of these communities hereafter.

4. There are also about 10,000 Mussalmans in Kanara and Ratnageri, who speak Konkani viz. the Navayats, the descendants of the Mussalmans who are said to have fled from Cuffa in the eighth century to escape from the persecutions of the fierce governor Hujaz bin Yusaf, and Dhobis and other local

converts. They use a large number of Arabic words in their language.

Preservation of the unity of the language.

5. Great as are the quasi-dialectic diversities in the Konkani spoken by the various communities enumerated above, yet their language is one. The direct object of language being exchange of ideas, if that purpose is easily attained by the individuals of these different communities by means of their several varieties it cannot be denied that these varieties form one species of language. "As the direct object of language is communication," writes Professor Whitney "the possibility of communication makes the unity of a language."

6. The growth of languages is influenced by two important factors, namely *alterative* forces, which cause dialectic variations in a languege, and *conservative* forces, which tend to keep together and preserve a language in its purity. Whatever tends to separate communities tends also to break their language into dialects; on the other hand social and commercial intercourse operates as a unifying force. Want of a common literature lets loose alterative forces to act powerfully in a language, but a common literature is a powerful factor towards preserving a language in its integrity and purity. Now in Konkani both the alterative forces, namely, the breaking up of the Konkani-speaking people and the want of a common literature have long been in operation, but not sufficiently long nor with sufficient force so as to break up the language into distinct dialects. The several varieties of Konkani constitute therefore still one language. And what is needed for its preservation and amelioration is to bring into play the two conservative forces, viz., a larger social intercourse between one community and another and between caste and caste and secondly to put forth our best endeavours to acquire a common literature of our own.

Genetical classification.

7. To proceed to consider the origin, birth and growth of our language, we ask: To what family of languages does Konkani belong? Is it, as some say, a dialect coming from the same source as Kanarese, or a dialect of Marathi, which it resembles in many respects, or had it a growth, independent of Marathi, from the source from which both are derived? There are two ways of

classifying languages, one called the *genetical* or *genealogical*, and the other the *morphological*. By means of the former languages are traced to one single ancestor as far as possible, and are grouped in different families, where in each language is given its proper place in the genealogy of families. This classification is based on resemblance of roots, not necessarily all the roots, but roots of words which are least susceptible of alteration, viz. (1) words which make up the grammar of the language, and (2) names of object which are connected with the family and daily life of the common people, for example, father, mother, etc. What is most important to take note of in this connexion is that it is rather the grammar than the lexicon that constitutes the essential nature of a language: a mixed lexicon is a frequant occurrence but a mixed grammar is a rare thing: nay, the whole lexicon of a language may be foreign, yet if it retains its grammar it will always remain essentially the same language. Two-thirds of the vocabulary of English is borrowed directly or indirectly from Latin, yet its grammar being still Anglo-Saxon, it is classed among the Gothic languages and not among the Roman languages, like Portuguese Spanish, French and Italian. Now according to resemblances of roots both of grammar and commonly used words, languages are divided into Aryan or Indo-European, Semitic, Hamitic, Scythian, Malayo-Polynesian, and American families. The Aryan family may be divided into Gothic, Keltic, Latin, Greek, Sclavonian, Persian, and Sanskritic branches. The Gothic includes North Germanic and Low Germanic, to the latter of which belongs the Anglo-Saxon or English. The Latin branch includes the classic Latin and the modern French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. The Sanskritic family, includes the classic Sanskrit and Pali, and modern Bengali, Hindi and Hindustani in the North East, Sindhi and Punjabi in the North-West, and Guzerati, Marathi, Kutcthi &c. in the South-West. Leaving aside the Hamitic, Semitic, Malayo-Polynesian and American, which are of no direct interest to our subject, I may observe only that Kanarese, one of our neighbours, belongs to the Dravidian branch of the Scythian family of languages. Now what place among the genealogy of families shall we give to our Konkani? Let us take a few common words in that

language and the corresponding words in Sanskrit, Marathi, Latin, English, and Kanarese :—

KONKANI	MARATHI	SANSKRIT	LATIN	ENGLISH	KANARESE
don	don	dvi	duo	two	yeradu
main	mai	matra	mater	mother	tai
pai	pai	pad	pes	foot	kalu
naum	naum	nam	nomen	name	hesaru
gai	gai	gai	vacca	cow	dana
has	hansi	hnasi	(b) anser	goose	bathu
vair	var	var	super	over	mele

We find here a striking resemblance between the words on each line in all the languages mentioned except Kanarese. It therefore follows that Konkani belongs to the same family to which Sanskrit, Latin, English and Marathi belong and not the one to which Kanarese belongs, and that it must be classed among the Aryan family of languages. Again, its resemblance to Marathi is so great, that it is clearly derived from the same family from which Marathi came. viz., Sanskritic.

8. In tracing the resemblance among roots in the Aryan family of languages, it should be noted that they do not resemble in every respect, for example, we have *don* in Konkani, *duo* in Latin, *two* in English, *zwo* in German. This difference in respect of sounds in words derived from the same root follows a uniform law, which has been called Grimm's law. It is a permutation or rotation of consonants that shift in the following order :—first, the mutes in Konkani, Sanskrit, Latin and Greek correspond to sonants in High German, and to aspirates in Low German and English *e. g. pai* in Konkani, *pes* in Latin, *zuoz* in High German, and *foot* in English ; secondly, the sonants in Konkani, Sanskrit, etc , correspond to aspirates in High German and mutes in English *e. g. goi* in Konkani, *cow* in English, and, thirdly, aspirates in Konkani, Sanskrit, etc., correspond to mutes in High German and sonants in English, *e. g. has* in Konkani, *goose* in English. The origin of this law is very obscure, one plausible explanation being that it arose out of a differentiation in independent directions of sounds originally indistinctly pronounced. Whatever the true explanation, the fact is very interesting to note in tracing the origin and growth of our language.

Morphological classification

9. Under the morphological classification according to composition of roots, languages are divided into Inflexional, Agglutinative and Monosyllabic. In the Inflexional languages two roots are so joined together that both the roots are coalesced and lose their identity, as in Sanskrit and Latin ; in the Agglutinative two roots are so joined together that one remains more or less intact and the other loses its identity, as in Arabic ; but in the Monosyllabic languages the roots always remain intact, and the words consist of one single syllable, as in Chinese. All languages must originally have been Monosyllabic; the Agglutinative and Inflexional mark the later stages in the development of languages. The higher the development in the composition of roots towards the completely inflexional stage, the greater is the scope afforded for a variety in the modes of expression. Kanarese with its kindred languages Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and Tulu, which are Dravidian tongues, though to a certain extent approaching the Inflexional stage,are still fundamentally Agglutinative, whereas Marathi, Gujarati as well as Konkani are purely Inflexional languages, as are all the branches of the Indo-European family. Regarded from the point of inflexions their wealth, complexity, refinement and niceties in Konkani are so remarkable, that it must be placed very high among languages of the world, higher even than Latin and other European languages except Greek. We cannot indeed argue that because a language is poor in inflexions, it cannot enable a people to attain to a high degree of civilization, for the Chinese, with their language consisting only of 1,500 words and without inflexions, rose to a level of civilization, which Europeans attained only many centuries after them. But it must be conceded that a highly inflexional language as an instrument of speech, is superior to a non-inflexional language. We possess in Konkani a very elastic and fine instrument. Fertile and rich the soil, complex, refined and powerful the machinery, intelligent the cultivators, abundant will be the harvest we can gather if we cultivate our language. "If thou be diligent, thy harvest shall come as a fountain and want shall be far from thee." "Pun tsurk zaun aslear zări bări tujen belen yetelen ani durbălkai tuje laksili veteli."

(PROVERBS.) VI, 11.

Alteration in languages.

10. We have divided the languages of the world according to the resemblances of their roots into six main families, namely, Aryan or Indo-European, Semitic, Hamitic, Scythian or Turanian, Malayo-Polynesian and American. It has been impossible to find any resemblances between the original stock of words of these families, though many connecting links have been traced among the races speaking the languages of these several families, in respect of physical characteristics, religion, and civilization. If no common ground exist between these families of languages, the fact can perhaps be accounted for by the occurrence in the early history of mankind of a dreadful physical, moral or religious catastrophe, which had the effect of confusing their once one language and giving birth to new languages entirely differing from one another and from their old one language, a theory which finds confirmation in the account in the Holy Scriptures. It is therefore perhaps a hopeless task to attempt to connect our Konkani with every language of the world; but its connection with the languages of the Aryan or Indo-European family has been clearly established. Yet the divergence between Konkani and any other language of this family will be found on many points to be very great. We find varieties even between the Konkani spoken in different localities and communities, and between the Konkani of the seventeenth century and this century. These varieties in different periods, localities or communities are caused in four ways, as shown by Professor Whitney, namely, (1) alteration in the outer form of words, (2) alteration in the inner content of words, (3) loss of words, and (4) additions of words.

Phonetic decay.

11. The first mode of change is called phonetic decay or corruption and is going on continuously in every language. It is due (1) either to the tendency to save as much labour as is consistent with the necessity of making oneself understood, the process being called the law of economy or laziness, or (2) to the desire to be more distinct than the sounds of a word allow which process is called the law of emphasis. The alteration in the outer form of words proceeds along the plane of least resistance, seeking the easiest and most natural combination or

utterance of sounds. When two syllables are joined together, or a single syllable is shortened, or for the sake of emphasis other sounds are allowed to steal in, alterations take place by interchange or assimilation of sounds with sounds of the same class or allied class according to the organs used in uttering them.

Permutation of sounds.

12. The process of phonetic corruption should be carefully distinguished from the process which goes by the name of Grimm's Law. The former is a process of derivation by shortening syllables, assimilating sounds or adding letters The latter is a divergence in different directions, subject to laws of euphony, of what were originally indistinct sounds. It is not a case of corruption but of distinct pronunciation. The process of Grimm's Law is used only with reference to consonants. A similar process is observable sometimes in case of vowels under certain combinations in Konkani as compared with some other Aryan languages in India; for instance, we find that (*a*) words beginning with *ká* in Konkani change into *ka* (*a* as in English *but*) in Marathi ; (*b*) the syllable *vo* in Konkani changes into *o* or *ho* in Marathi, and (*c*) nouns ending in *o* in Konkani end in ā in Marathi. There are of course exceptions. The following are a few interesting examples :—

KONKANI	MARATHI	KONKANI	MARATHI
kāntalo (disgust)	kantala	vanto (share)	vanta
kāpur (camphor)	kapur	dāgo (deceit)	daga
kamp (tremor)	kamp	daryo (sea)	dārya
vojen (burden)	ozen	godo (horse)	goda
vónk (vomit)	ónk	ukod (boil)	ukāl
vólók (recognition)	ólók	lailaum (auction)	lilaum
vói (yes)	hoi	lip (hide)	lāp
vónt (lip)	hónt	fol (fruit)	fāl

Analogy.

13. The second process in operation in the growth of language is the alteration in the inner content of words. This is brought about by the use of false analogies. For instance the Sanskrit word

prăthvi (broad) is now used in Aryan vernaculars for "earth"; the word *tăp* (heat) in Sanskrit is used by us for a particular kind of heat, namely fever; the word *duhitu* (one who milks) means with us "daughter" and is shortened to *dhu*.

Loss of words.

14. The third mode in the growth of languages takes place by the loss of words and grammar. Loss of words is caused by the disappearance of the conceptions expressed by them as a result of retrograde march of a people in civilization or their change of religion or habits of life; for instance the Konkani Catholics have given up the use of the word *guru* and have adopted in its place the word *padri*, derived from Latin through Portuguese. The loss of grammatical terminations is generally due to the disintegration of a language caused by foreign aggression, as in English which lost the greater portion of its inflexions after the Norman invasion. So has Konkani lost its inflexions for expressing the comparative and superlative, which existed in the original Indo-European language, and a few others.

Addition of words.

15. Addition of words is the fourth mode by which language grows and changes. It is found necessary for expressing new ideas or new shades of ideas, that are given birth to as a people make forward march in civilization, especially when this happens by contact or intercourse with a foreign people. New ideas or shades of ideas may be expressed, (1) by borrowing words from a foreign language, as many of our religious terms introduced by Christianity, *anj* (angel), *sakrament*, (2) by composition of roots, for example, *sarvpodvedar* (almighty), *borepon* (goodness), and (3) by use of imitative expressions, for example, *barbar* (murmur).

Development of Sanskrit.

16. We have seen to what family of languages Konkani belongs, and what forces have been in operation in the growth of that language and the allied languages. We shall now see what events have brought about the working of these forces. The cradle of the Aryan race is believed to be the region in Central India between the Oxus and Jaxartes or some region still further north in the duties. Two branches of this race, the

Iranians and Aryas travelled to the south, one of them settling in Persia and the other on the banks of the Sindhu or Indus, which gave birth to the name "Hindus." The Aryas or Aryans were a well-built race, fair-complexioned, handsome and highly intelligent. Bold and enterprising they by no means believed the earth too big for them, as some of their successors do, by prohibiting the crossing of the Kalapani. They boldly marched onward, carried everything before them, conquered nations, reduced to slavery those who were too proud to yield or who were too low in their civilization to be worthy of intercourse with them, and freely mixed and intermarried with those people, who were equally civilized with them and easily came to terms. Unlike the Jews, the Aryans had but a dim conception of an Almighty Power, who "in the beginning created Heaven and Earth," nevertheless they were a religious people deeply imbued with a sense of their dependence on the forces of nature and the elements, which they worshipped reverently, composed hymns in their honour and added an elaborate ritual to their worship. Being endowed with a quick intelligence and a powerful imagination, they early began to speculate and rationalize on the origin of the universe and man, their relation to the gods and on the eternal existence of things. The religious fervour and speculations of the early Aryans have found expression in the compositions, remarkable indeed for their age, called the Vedas, of which there are four, the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sama-Veda, and the Atharva-Veda, each of them being divided into three parts, viz., the Hymns or *Mantras*, the *Brahmanas* or ritual, and the *Upanishads* or philosophic speculations. Though there are monuments of much earlier and higher states of civilization reached by other nations than that ever reached by the Hindus, we possess in the Samhitas of the Rig-Veda perhaps the earliest record in language of the intellectual feats of human genius. They were written at least 2000 years B. C., just after the Aryans had crossed the Indus. Dr. Bhandarkar divides the Vedic period of the Sanskrit language into two, which were followed by the classic period of its literature. "We have thus," he says, "three distinct periods in the development of Sanskrit. First we have the *Vedic* period, to which the Rig-Veda Samhita, the Mantra portion of the Yajur-Veda, and the more antiquated portion

of the Atharva Samhita are to be refered. Then commences another period at the threshold of which we have the Brahmans, which, so to say, look backwards to the preceding, that is, present the Vedic language in the last stage of its progress towards Panini's *Bhasha*; and later on we have Yaska and Panini: this may be called the period of *Middle* Sanskrit. And last of all, there is the *Classical* period, to which belong the epics Ramayana and Mahabharata, the earliest specimens of kavyas and dramatic plays, the metrical smritis and the grammar of Kalyayana."*

Aryan settlement in India.

17. The first period of Sanskrit literature corresponds to the period of the Aryan settlements in *Brahmavarta* (abode of the gods) between the Drishadvati and Sarasvati; the second with the period of their settlements in *Brahmarsidesa*, the country thence as far as the Ganges and *Madhyadesa*, the middle country, as far as the junction of the Ganges and Jamna. The third period occurred after the Aryans had settled in *Aryavarta*, corresponding to the modern Hindustan, and had gone even further down in the south. The sphere of the epic poem Ramayana is, according to the opinion of Lassen, geographically limited to the *Aryavarta*. This is the sacrificial country of the Aryas according to Valmiki.† Manu extends the sacrificial region much further south. As regards the Mahabharata Lessen observes:—'If we sum up these enquiries we perceive a considerable progress in the propagation of the Aryan religion and dominion towards the south, when compared with the state of things portrayed in the Ramayana. The Brahman cult had spread from Surashtra (Gujerat and Kathiawar) to Gokarn in Kanara; on the eastern coast not only as far as the mouths of the Ganges, but as far as those of the Godavari; and even beyond them the Kings of Manipura and Kalinga obeyed the laws of the Aryan warriors. No Aryan empire is mentioned on the west coast of the south of the Surashtra. The hermitages of the Brahmins and the seats of the gods extend as far as Gokarn; and thus far were pilgrimages undertaken. But no Aryan nation is mentioned. Gokarn is now the southern limit of the domain of the Sanskrit tongue At the

* Vide Wilson Philological Lecture on the development of the Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit languages, by Dr. Bhandarkar, Ph. D (Vienna).

† Vide Mandlik's Introduction to the *Vyavahara Mayukha*.

time of Ptolomey (about 150 A. D.), this coast and the interior country above it were called *Aryaka*, and hence it must have been occupied by Aryans. Consequently the immigration of the Aryans into this part took place later than the time of the Pandavas, and Brahmins appear only as precursors of Aryan possession." Dr. Bhandarkar fixes the date of the Aryan settlement in Western India approximately in the seventh century B. C. If this date is correct, the advance of the Aryans into Kanara and Southern India may be fixed between the seventh and the third century B. C.* At any rate it may be safely asserted that, at the commencement of the Christian era, the Aryans had settled in large numbers and had profoundly affected, and been affected by, the Dravidian and other primitive tribes of the Dekkan, Konkan, Kanara and the districts adjoining the Tungabhadra, in respect of race, religion, and language In estimating the extent of Aryan influence in shaping the races, religions and languages of India, it must be borne in mind that our Aryan ancestors found no difficulty in freely mingling with the aboriginal tribes and even in contracting marriages with any but the most degraded classes: many of the Smritis and Shastras permit connections of the twice-born with the women of lower castes in addition to the most approved form of marriage † The extent and influence of Aryan colonization in India varied in proportion to the superiority of their numbers, martial spirit, and civilizing power over those of the people among whom they proceeded to settle. As the late Justice Ranade puts it in his valuable work, *The Rise of the Maratha Power*, "In Northern India, the element of the Aryan race has predominated to an extent which dwarfed aboriginal races and drove them to the hilly parts of the country. In the Southern Peninsula the Dravidian races have retained their predominant position, the Aryan element being not powerful enough to impress its stamp upon the population generally. By reason of its position between the two divisions now mentioned, the table-land of Maharashtra has been inhabited by a population in which the Aryans and the Dravidians have been mixed in due proportions, so as to retain the

* Vide *Early History of the Dekkhan*, by Dr. Bhandarkar, and the *Outlines of the History of Kanara* in the *Mangalore Magazine*, Vol. I. p. 47.

† Vide *Yajnavalya*, § 56.

good points of both without exaggerating their defect."* The Konkani-speaking people were one of the first batches of Aryan colonists that settled in the south-western corner of the Maharashtra, where a cosmopolitan population of Dravidian settlers and immigrants from across the seas readily coalesced with the new comers, probably superior to them in martial prowess and civilization, if not in numbers.

Growth of the Prakrit and vernaculars.

18. How then did their language take the shape in which we find it? In the early Vedic times we find that side by side with the literary language, there existed what is called by Panini and other grammarians, the *basha* or language of the people. It was a *variety* of Sanskrit, not a separate dialect. As the Aryans spread over northern India, the distance between the literary language and the *basha* tended to increase day by day. As long however as the Aryans preserved themselves intact without intermixture with the aboriginal tribes or foreign invaders, the hold of the literary language over the people was powerful enough to prevent much disintegration. Another powerful factor was added three centuries before Christ as a preservative force in the formation of a rich literature in the Pali language, one of the varieties of the *basha*. But the Aryan colonists including even the Brahmins, as we have seen, did not preserve themselves from contamination. As the Aryans began to mingle with aboriginal and foreign peoples, the current of corruption set in with full force in their language, and there grew up gradually new dialects called the *Prakrits*, embracing four main varieties (i) the *Maharashtri* spoken in Maharastra, (ii) the *Magadhi* spoken in Magadha, modern Behar, (iii) the *Shurashena*, spoken in the territory round Mathura, and (iv) *Paishachi*, the language of the Pishachas or barbarous hill tribes.

The growth of Konkani.

19. Marathi and Konkani have grown out of the Maharashtri Prakrit. It is believed that Marathi, Konkani and other Aryan vernaculars of India began to assume a distinctive character about the tenth century. That Konkani was a distinct dialect about this time is proved from the fact that the Musulmans, called Navayats (new-comers), who settled on the Kanara coast about

* Cf. *Mangalore Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 47.

the eighth century, adopted the language of the country, which we find to be Konkani, though somewhat corrupt. Another interesting fact that throws light on the state of our language about this time is that the Konkani speaking Brahmins, who are believed by such an eminent authority as Dr. Bhau Daji. to have been a colony of Gaud Sarasvat Brahmans of Northern India that settled in Southern Konkan (Goa or Gomantak) about the tenth century, seems to have adopted as their language the dialect of Konkani, differing as it did little at the time from their own Prakrit. It has been suggested that the Konkani speaking Brahman seems as a matter of history to be the offspring of immigrant Brahmans and local women of other castes, and that this fact accounts for their having so easily adopted Konkani as their language. That is a point which we shall to deal with hereafter.

The elements of Konkani.

20. Ancient geographers divide the country lying below the Western Ghaut from the Tapti to Cape Comorin, which was reclaimed by Parashuram from the ocean, into seven parts, viz., Barat, Varat, Marat, Konkan, Haviga, Tuluva, and Kerala. Of these parts Konkan, extending for about a hundred miles from Devgad in the north to Sadashivgad (near Karwar) in the south and corresponding to the present known province of south Konkan (including Goa), was the country where the Aryans settled, and coalescing with the people there, gave birth to the new vernacular Konkani. The aboriginal Konkans are believed to have been partly Turanians and partly pre-Turanians. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which the Aryans coalesced with them, but the new settlers maintained the supremacy of the Sanskrit element as far as the grammatical forms are concerned and to the extent of nine-tenths of the vocabulary. This is a distinct advantage to Konkani; for deriving, as it does, its resources so amply from the richest language of the world, when it refreshes itself a little at its fountain head, it may, as has been said of Marathi, "be held capable of meeting any exigency in social life, or in literature, science, or religion." *

The Sanskrit words in Konkani are divided into *Tatsama* (words preserved in their integrity) and *Tadbhava* (corrupted

* Molesworth's *Marathi English Dictionary.*

words). The process by which these corruptions take place has been already explained. The non-Sanskritic element is of three kinds:—(1) *Deshaj* (indigenous), words derived from the language of aborigines, *e. g.*, *dolo* (eye), *pot* (belly), and most of the words beginning with *jh* or *z*. *e. g.*, *zād*, *zād*; (2) Imitative particles, *e. g.*, *gădbăd*; and (3) *Anya-deshaj* (foreign), words imported from Kanarese, Persian, Arabic, Portuguese, and English. How this happened will be shown presently.

The growth of Konkani in Goa.

21. The development of Konkani has been greatly influenced by the Governments under which the province of south Konkan (including Goa) has passed. From the beginning of the Christian era down to the middle of the fifteenth century several local Hindu Chiefs ruled the province under the suzerainty of the dynasties of Hindu Kings already mentioned in the writer's *Outlines of the History of Kanara*.* They were as follows:—

I. The Andrabhrhityas (100 B. C. to 400 A. D.).
II. The early Kadambas (400-600).
III. The Western Chalukyas of Badami (578-767).
IV. The Rashtrakutas of Malkhed (754-973).
V. The Western Chalukyas of Kalyani (973-1189).
VI. The Hoyasalas of Darasamudra or Ballala Rajas (1103-1300),
VII. The Yadavas of Devagiri (some years in the 12th and 13th centuries).
VIII. The Vijayanagar Kings (1336-1469).

The most notable of the local chiefs were the Silharas of Goa, and after them the Kadambas of Goa. During the fifteenth century the Bahmini kings, Mahomedans in religion, made three efforts to conquer south Konkan. The third expedition closed with the capture of the fort and island of Goa in 1469; but the dominion of the Bahmini dynasty was short-lived, for in 1500 we find that the commander of Goa agreed to acknowledge Yusaf Adil Khan of Bijapur as his sovereign. In 1510 Goa was taken by the Portuguese, and the island of Goa with the surrounding country from a little to the south of

* Cf. *ante* Vol. I., page 76.

Vingurla in the north to the Sadashivgad in the south passed under their sovereignty. The portion of South Konkan north of Vingurla remained under the Mahomedan Sultan of Bijapur until the middle of the seventeenth century, when it passed under the Mahrattas. In 1812 it was annexed by the British.

The Government of Hindu sovereigns for centuries in the Konkan contributed no doubt towards maintaining the predominance in Konkan of their religious and literary language Sanskrit. Many of the dynasties, such as the Kadambas, the Ballala Rajas and the Vijayanagar kings, were Kanarese in race; and their official language being Kanarese, many words of that language found their way into Konkani, *e. g.*, *akkai* (paternal aunt, from *akka*, sister). Under the fostering care of the Hindus, Konkani became a flourishing tree, but scarcely had it brought forth its first fruits, when the country, where its roots were deepest, passed first under the Mussalmans and then under the Portuguese, who neglected it and allowed it to wither. Of literature in the shape of poetry, much less of prose, very little could have existed; for even Marathi before the sixteenth century could boast of only four poets—Mukund Raj (A. D. 1200), Dynaneshwar (1269), Namdeva (about the same time), and Shridhar (1500). But while Marathi can delight modern generations with its magnificent poetical literature (mostly religious), commencing in the seventeenth century, Konkani or rather Marathi-Konkani can make a display of only one important poetical composition, the *Puran*, a metrical version of the Holy Bible and that the work of a foreigner, Father Thomas Stephens, S. J., a countryman and contemporary of Shakespeare, who died in Goa in 1649. Some ballads, odes and hymns, of which only a few are collected and published, and several recent translations of religious books and of one or two Portuguese books, complete the list of our vernacular literature. The policy followed by the Mussalman Sultans and by the Portuguese tended little to encourage a vernacular literature. The growth of a Konkani literature was in fact nipped in the bud when Goa, the very centre of the language, ceased to be under the Hindu Raj. One good effect of the Mussalman dominion was the profuse introduction into Konkani of Persian and Arabic

words, for instance, the Persian suffixes *gar* (gunegar), *dar* (subedar), *band* (nalband), *var* (umedvar), *stan* (Hindustan), and the Persian words *durbin*, *sarkar*, and the Arabic words, *hukum*, *layak*.

The Exodus from Goa.

22. The Mussalman dominion probably resulted in large numbers of Goan Hindus being converted to Mahomedanism: but on the capture of Goa by the Portuguese, every vestige of Islam was swept away. Among the Hindus the Portuguese Missionaries gained whole populations to the fold of Christ. Their extraordinary success was due more or less to the same causes, which* led to the conversion of hundreds of thousands of Hindus in Southern India under the sway of the native Rajas from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, and can hardly be attributed so much to persecution or force, as has been done by some authorities. That the conquest of Goa was followed by a large exodus of the Goan Hindus to Kanara and other places is a historical fact; but it was not confined to the Hindus, the Christians migrated as well. This was especially due to the incursions of the Mahrattas into Goan territory, which rendered life and property insecure, and to the decline of Portuguese power, which spread poverty and distress throughout the land. The tide of emigration is still in full flow, so that the Konkani speaking sons of Goa are now found in hundreds and thousands in Kanara, Bombay, and elsewhere throughout India, while not a few have cast their lot in Burma, Ceylon, East Africa, the Straits Settlements, and China, everywhere carrying with them the stamp of religion and civilization which the Portuguese brought to India. To these two influences Konkani owes no small portion of its religious and social vocabulary, borrowed from Latin and Portuguese, for example, *sacrament*, *sacred*, *padri*, *fidalgo*, etc. Under the influence of the English education we now receive, we behold an inrush of a flood of English words into our language at a rate so rapid, that it is often difficult to make out whether our school boys speak Konkani or a jargon of English. Borrowing has its advantages, but not the reckless use of foreign words which arises from indifference to our language.

* See *Catholic Missions in Southern India* by Father Strickland, S. J., and T. Marshall, and the chapter on Christianity in India in Hunters' *British Indian Empire*.

Konkani not a dialect of Marathi.

23. Among the languages of importance spoken in Western India from the Gulf of Cambay to Mangalore, such as Marathi, Gujerati, Hindustani and Kanarese, the last alone has no kinship with Konkani, while the others are closely allied to it in various degrees of affinity. Marathi claims the closest relationship, so much so that a comparison of its grammar and lexicon makes it stand in the light of a twin sister. The following table will show this relationship better than a long explanation :—

KONKANI	MARATHI	KANARESE	GUJERATI	HINDUSTANI
undir	undir	ili	undar	chiva
mazar	mazar	bekku	biladi	billi
kombi	kombadi	hennu	margi	murgi
tambdo	tambda	kempu	lal	lal
lahn	lahan	sanna	nanun	chota
aik	aik	kelu	sambal	sunno
gelo	gela	hodonu	gayo	gaya.

Konkani, on the other hand, discloses peculiarities that are very striking, as will appear from the following list :—

KONKANI	KANARESE	SANSKRIT	MARATHI	GUJERATI
avuñ	nanu	aham	mi	huñ
asañ	iruthene	asen̄ (Prak)	astoñ	chuñ
maka	nanage	mahyam	mala	mane
udak	niru	udaka	pani	pani
khaiñ	elli	kva	khute	khyañ
(h) anga	illi	iha	yethen̄	hyan
dóvór	haku	dhor	tev	darav
apai	kari	avha	bulav	bolav
luvñ	koi	lu	kap	lan
vómp	bithu	vapá	per	vav
lagiñ	samipa	samipa	zaval	najik
bhitor	volage	abhyantar	ant	andarnu
chedo	huduga	batu	pór	chokro

These words and hundreds of others go to prove that there are abundant materials peculiar to Konkani which are not shared by Marathi. The singular permutation of consonants and vowels in independent directions exhibited by both languages (para 12) have been noted. These striking features of Konkani are, it may be remarked, borrowed either directly from Sanskrit or Prakrit, or from sources other than any known variety of Marathi. The only inference that can be drawn from these facts is that Konkani is not a dialect of Marathi, but that both have grown side by side from the same stem. This view is supported by several philologists of note, such as Dr. Gerson da Cunha, Dr. Wilson, and Father Maffei. Referring to Konkani Dr. Wilson writes :—' By this designation is not meant the very slight dialectic difference which exists between the language [Marathi] of the British Dekkhan and the corresponding country running between the slopes of the Ghauts and the Indian Ocean, forming the British Konkan, but the language of the country commencing with the Goa territory and extending considerably to the south of Karwar and even Honawar. The speech of this district differs from Marathi as much as Gujerati differs from Marathi. It is manifestly in the main formed on the basis of Sanskrit."

Conclusion.

24. The are in Konkani many words which appear at first sight to be corruptions from Marathi, but really most of them will be found when examined to be corruptions independent of Marathi, from original roots common to both. In fact Marathi and Konkani are two independent branches, that have grown out of the same stem which had its roots in the original popular Sanskrit or Prakrit spoken in South Western India.

PART THIRD

KONKANI OR GOAN CASTES.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

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Konkani or Goan Castes.

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Konani Communities

In this article I propose to treat of the racial characteristics, origin, and growth of the Konkani-speaking communities, numbering nearly a million souls and found mainly in Goa, Kanara, Cochin, Kolaba, Ratnagiri and Bombay. The most important of these communities are (1) the Konkani Shenvi or Sarasvat Brahmans; (2) non-Brahmans, such as the Sonars, Konkani Cunbis and Marathas, Bhandaris, Konkani Kharvis, Sutars, Sherogars, Padits, Konkani Madivals, Konkani Kelasis, Bavkule and other *Vanis*; (3) the Mahomedan Navayts and (4) the Catholic Christians of Goa, Canara and Ruthagiri. Besides these must be mentioned the Komaripaiks and Halepaiks of Kanara, a large number of whom in North Kanara speak both Kanarese and Konkani at home, or rather a mixture of Konkani and Kanarese.

Language and race.

2. In tracing the origin and growth of the Konkani language, I have touched on much that belongs to the ethnology of these communities. I have not overlooked the important truth that a community that speaks a certain language does not necessarily belong to the race that originated that language. In India, more than in any other country, this has to be particularly borne in mind. Even Manu recognises the fact that there were Dasyus (non-Aryans) who spoke the language of the Mlechchas or that of the Aryas, (x., 45). But when we find a certain language of a conquering tribe spoken in a country where a tribe numerically superior or almost equal had been speaking a distinctly different tongue, this much may be safely asserted, that there had been a fusion of the tribes by intermarriage and social intercourse and absorption of the civilisation of the former by the latter. This is just what took place

among a majority, if not all, of the Konkani-speaking communities. I have explained in my essay on the Konkani language how this result has been brought about, and I now add a few remarks to emphasise what has been already said.

Racial types of India

3. There is perhaps no country in the world where there can be found so many different races settled as in India. Though shut in on the north by the barrier of the earth's highest mountain range, and on the east and the west by broad seas, India's surpassing fertility and wealth attracted outside peoples through the passes of those mountains and over the expanse of those seas. So great has been this attraction that there are found her racial types, languages and dialects in various stages of development and progress, so numerous and varied as to bewilder the ethnologist. Another important feature in the ethnical condition of the country is that the tribes, classes and professions have crystallised into castes, which instead of fusion show always a tendency to fission, if I may employ the term, whenever there is the least friction within a class or tribe, or intermarriage among members of different classes or tribes. Indeed, as the late Sir William Hunter correctly remarked, "India forms a great museum of races, in which we can study man from his lowest to his highest stages of culture." The races that have contributed to make up the population of India are the Turanian, the Dravidian, the Aryan, the Semitic and the Ethiopic. The Turanians, called Kolarians by some writers, are believed to be the most ancient known people that settled in India. They came down through the north-east passes from the Thibetan regions. The chief feature of their religion was worship of the spirits of ancestors, that were believed to preside over families, clans, tribes, and to reside especially in trees. They are represented at present by the Santals, with their oval faces and flat noses. The Dravidians are supposed to have forced their way into India through the passes of the mountains in the north-west. In addition to the spirit worship of the Kolarians, they worshipped the earth as their chief god, and the serpent *(sheshna)* as its emblem. They are represented at present by the Kandhs and Gondhs of Central India, and the tribes of Southern India speaking Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, Kanarese, Tulu, and other langua-

ges. Of these languages Tamil is supposed to have been as early advanced as Sanskrit, or even earlier. We should not lose sight of the fact that many of the Dravidian and other local tribes had in all probability, even in those early days, attained a high state of civilisation and appear to have carried on extensive trade with Chaldea and Assyria, which had developed a civilisation more ancient than that of the Aryans.*

Aryanisation of North Indian tribes.

4. When the Aryan hordes crossed the Sindhu (Indus) about the year 2000 B. C. they found the aboriginal tribes of India able to offer them a stout resistance. They conquered many of the tribes only after severe fighting. From *dasyus* (at first meaning "people," "foreign people") the Indian tribes became *dasyus*, "enemies;" then *dasyus*, slaves of theirs. Yet there were occasions when, during internal civil strife, the Aryan tribes allied themselves with the Dasyus, like the Purus and Gandharas and Bharatas. Later on we find a confederacy of ten tribes, including the non-Aryan Purus and Bharatas, under the leadership of the Puru king Kutsa, formed against the Aryan tribe Tritsu. The Rishi Vasistha was the high priest of the Tritsu, and the Rishi Vishvamitra is found to take sides with the ten tribes. Here is a description of the parties given in *the Story of Vedic India* (pp. 327-9), which bears being quoted:—

"The names of both the enemies and the allies of the Tritsu and their King Sudas have been preserved for us by the bards of the Rig-Veda The confederacy, consisting of ten powerful tribes, was headed by the Puru under their hero the great Kutsa, and by the Bharatas who, already converted by Vishvamitra were to become so thoroughly Aryanized, and to take such a prominent position that, in after days, "the Land of the Bharatas" was to become a synonym for "Aryan India." The names of several other famous chieftains are mentioned as having perished in the decisive battle. Neither were the Tritsu unprovided with allies, and in the array of the latter we are startled to find two very familiar names—those of the Parthians and the Persians - Prithu and Parsu, though there

* "*Vide* Story of Chaldea" by Z. A. Ragozin pp. 214-5, 246, 287, and Story of Vedic India," by the same author, pp. 300-310.

is really nothing so very wonderful in the fact that chips of the two chief Eranian tribes should have, like others wondered south of the Himalaya. A people named Vishanin *i. e.* followers of Vishnu, is also mentioned, almost certainly Aryan Sun-worshippers, showing that Vishnuism as a distinctive worship—a sect—had its roots in a remoter past than was hitherto suspected. As though to complete the connection, we find in the list of the Tritsu's allies the Vishanin bracketed with the Shiva, which is thought to be a name of the Tugra, one of the oldest aboriginal Dravidian peoples, whom the Aryas had specially nicknamed "Sons of the Serpent," and who, under the religious designation of Shiva, were very probably the originators of the worship of Shiva under the form or with the attribute of a snake. That all these peoples had even then already become much mixed, partly with Aryan element, is more than likely. At all events it takes one's breath away to find the three component elements of modern Hinduism : Brahmanism, Vishnuism, and Shivaism, arrayed before us in the Rig-Veda in precisely the same juxtaposition : Tritsu, Vishanin, Shiva !"

Later on it is found that the great Kshatriya tribe of Kurus and Pandavas is made to descend from the non-Aryan tribe of Purus of the time of the Rig-Veda. It is significant also that in the Rig-Veda Krishna is the name of a non-Aryan King, a loud-yelling marauding chief, whom Indra destroyed for the benefit of the Aryan nation (Rig-Veda, VIII. 96, 13-15). This barbarian name Krishna is in the Mahabarata given to the king of the Kshatriya tribe of the Yadavas, who seem to be the descendants of the non-Aryan tribe of the Vedas that went by the name of Yadu. The Nishadas were Dasyus or barbarians in the eyes of the Vedic Aryans, but Nala, their king is described in the Mahabarata as virtuous, learned in the Vedas, and in fact in every way that makes him Kshatriya. Examples might be multiplied to show how the Aryans in the Vedic and Epic periods incorporated in their nation non-Aryan tribes, and engrafted them within their own classes according to their profession of priests, warriors traders, etc.

Aryanization of the Dekkhan

5. There is an interesting passage in Baudhayana (about 600 B. C.), which describes the state of the Aryan conquests soon after the Vedic period :—

" Some declare the country between the Jumna and the Ganges to be the *Ayra-land.*

" The inhabitants of Avanti (Malva), of Anga (East Behar) of Magadha (South Behar), of Surashtra (Gujrat), of the Dekhan, of Upavrit (Sindh,) and the Sauviras (South Punjab) *are of mixed origin.*

" He who has visited the Arattas (of the Punjab), the Karaskaras (of Southern India), the Pundras (of North Bengal), the Sauviras (of South Punjab), the Vangas (of East Bengal), the Kalingas (of South Bengal and Orissa), or the Pranunas, *shall offer a Sacrifice.*"

In the laws of Manu Arya-land is extended over the whole of Northern India, and the kings of Magadah and other kingdoms in that region, descendants of non-Aryan chiefs that probably married Aryan damsels, are regarded as pure Kshatriyas. Manu grades the various portions of Arya-Varta according to the orthodox piety and probable purity of blood of the Aryan-settlers, placing the first in rank the Brahma-Varta, the land between the two divine rivers, Sarasvati and Dhrishadvati. " The custom handed down in regular succession among the castes and *mixed races* of that country is called the conduct of virtuous men." The words *mixed races*, which I have underlined, are suggestive. This mixture of races by mixed marriages is expressly allowed by many Shastra writers, and reversion after certain generations of the progeny to the status of the male, who married the girl of a lower caste, is also recognised.

At the time the laws of Manu were written (about 200 B. C.,) Southern India was the land of Mlechchas (barbarians), though in Western and Central India the people, as told us by Baudhayana, were of mixed origin. About the time of Christ, Southern India was Hinduised and brought completely under the influence of Aryan civilisation. But the language and race of the Dravidians was but little affected by the Aryans. Yet we find in Southern India a complete classifi-

cation of the people on the lines laid down by Manu at an early date. Surely the Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas of the Dravidian India are not Aryans racially. They were, and are still, mainly of Dravidian race with a slight, if any, admixture of Aryan blood. In Southern India the aboriginal tribes in adopting the Hindu religion selected, as observed by Mr. Dutt (*Ancient India*), priests and Brahmans of their own race. Indeed, the extreme rigour of caste distinctions in Southern India, as compared with its laxity in Western and Northern India, is perhaps to be accounted for by the fact that classes had already nearly developed into castes among the Dravidians at the advent of the Aryan into India, and that the crystallisation of the Aryan classes into castes was accelerated, if not actually caused, by the contact and intercourse of the Aryans with the Dravidians.

The Scythians in India.

6. As the Aryans were spreading the mantle of their civilisation over the whole of India, their own race and civilisation were also profoundly affected by the conquest of Northern India in the sixth century B. C. by a tribe of Scythian origin called *Takshakass* (serpents) by the Hindus. These latter established a dynasty in the Magadah kingdom, which reigned until Chandragupta founded the Mauryan dynasty. The incursion of the Persians under Darius Hystaspes, 510 B. C., left little mark in India. The invasion of India by Alexander, 327 B. C., left only a kingdom under one of his generals in the north-western corner of India. More permanent in its influence was the establishment in Central India of the Indo-Scythian or Saka Empire of Ujjain about the time of Christ. As a result of the wars waged at the first invasion of India by the Scythians, the old military feudal class appears to have broken down, and in its place rose a new class, probably represented by the modern Rajputs.

Influence of Buddhism and Jainism. Supposed extinction of Kshatriya and Vaishya castes.

7. Nor must we overlook the influence of Buddhism and Jainism in helping the disintegration and fusion of races and tribes, to which the new conquests of the Aryans opened the way. When Neo-Hinduism re-established the power of the Brahmans, it is no wonder they could find no Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, or "twice-born classes," except

themselves. On this important question, namely, whether the Kshatriya and Vaishya castes have become quite extinct in India, there is an important decision of the Privy Council (Chautarya *v.* Saheb Purhulud Syn—7. M. I. A., Suth. I. 313) negativing the assertion of the Brahmans. The following extract of the judgment of the Privy Council, in which several authorities on the point are collected, is worth quoting here:—"It was contended on the part of the appellant, that the Khatri and Vaishya classes have ceased to exist and were sunk into the Sudra class and that there are now two classes only, the Brahmin and the Sudra. The appellant, in order to show that the proper genuine Khatri are extinct, cites as authorities in support of this position *The Ayeen Ackbery*, or the Institutes of Ackbar, Vol. II, p. 377: 'At present there are scarcely any true Khatris to be found excepting a few, who do not follow the profession of arms. Those among them who are soldiers are called Rajpoots.' Todd's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 53, where it is said, 'Of the fifth dynasty of eight princes, four were of pure blood, when Kistra, by a Sudra woman, succeeded.' Ward's *Account of the Hindoos*, Vol. II. p. 63: 'The Shasters declare that, in the Kaleeyooga there are no Khatris; that only two castes exist—Brahmins and Sudras—and that the second and the third orders are sunk in the fourth.' Steele's *Summary of the Law and Customs of Hindoo Castes*, p. 95: 'The Brahmins assert that Pursarum destroyed the whole of the Khatris,' *idem* p. 96: 'The Rajpoots, Maharatta chiefs of the Sattara or Bhonsle, and Kolapore families, etc., and other houses, lay claim to the title of Khatri and wear the Tenwa, but they are considered Sudras by the Brahmins,' and there is an opinion to the like effect expressed by Mr. Sterling in a paper on Orissa Proper, in Vol. V of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 195: 'The proper, genuine Khatris are, I believe, considered to be extinct, and those who represent them are, by the learned, held only to be Sudras.' Whatever weight may be due to these authorities in support of a speculative opinion entertained, perhaps by learned Brahmins and others, their Lordships have, nevertheless, no doubt that *the existence of the Khatri class as one of the regenerate tribes, is fully recognized throughout India, and also that Rajpoots in Central India, and in this district, are considered to be of that class. No doubt, as far*

as we are aware, has ever been raised in the Courts in India as to the existence of the Khatri class as one of the regenerate tribes. The courts in all cases assume that the four great classes remain. Thus Sir William Macnaghten, in his marginal note to Pershad Singh v. Muhesnee, 3 Sud. Rep. p. 132; (also in transcript p. 149); says, 'According to Hindoo Law, an illegitimate son of a Rajpoot, or any of the three superior tribes, by a woman of the Sudra or inferior class, is entitled to maintenance.' In the statement of the case, he takes it as an admitted fact that a Rajpoot is one of the three superior tribes; although it is true, as has been observed, that the point ultimately decided in this case, was only that the paternity was not established. In the second volume of Macnaghten's *Hindoo Law* p. 119 the marginal note is, 'The illegitimate son of a person belonging to one of the regenerate tribes (in this case a Rajpoot) is entitled to maintenance only.' Accurate information as to the distinction of classes, especially in this part of India, is to be found in the statistical survey of Dr. Francis Buchanan conducted under the direction of the Government of India. The second volume of Mr. M. Martin's *India* contains Dr. Buchanan's report on the district of Goruckpore, and at p. 456 he says, 'The Rajpoots are here, everywhere, and by all ranks, admitted to be Khatris, although they claim all manner of descents, except from the persons who according to the Vedas, sprang from the arms of Brahma.' Other passages in the same report have been referred to by Mr. Leith to the same effect. The Rajpoots are mentioned in Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. i. p. 607, as the military class in the original Hindoo system, so also in Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, p. 22. Thornton in his Gazetteer says 'The wide spread sect of Rajpoots are considered offshoots of the Khatris, one of the four great castes into which the Hindoos were originally divided.' Sir John Malcolm, in his *Memoir of Central India*, vol. ii. p. 125, enters fully into the state and condition of the Rajpoot tribes. They are treated throughout this history as belonging to the superior class. He mentions that, although their intercourse with females of a lower tribe may have, in some instances, produced a mixed race, yet even in this class, which he terms the bastard Rajpoot tribes, the lowest of them who aspire to Rajpoot descent consider themselves far above Sudras."

This decision of the Privy Council properly applies only to the Rajputs. As to the Vaishyas there was recently a decision of the Bombay High Court (Ambadas v. Govinda—23 Bombay 257), in which Justice Ranade held that the Dasa Parwad Jain caste was governed by the general Hindu Law applicable to the three regenerate classes being, though not Brahman, certainly not Shudra, for they are Vaisha by origin. The Jains, though not ackowledging the four castes of Manu, yet have numerous caste distinctions of their own ; and a Jain reverting to Hinduism takes his place in one of the Hindu castes from which he can trace his descent (See Elphinstone's *History of India*). In Western India, and notably Konkan and Kanara, it was not Buddhism, but Jainism that was predominant. Jainism has much in common with Buddhism, both being offshoots of a common religious movement. But Buddhism was never the power in Western India that Jainism was for centuries. Jainism did much to accelerate the tendencies at work among the Aryan conquerors to make matrimonial alliances with conquered tribes, a practice which, though Manu and Yajnavalkya observe as the exception, was probably very common. When Neo-Hinduism come into power in Western India, it re-established the power of the Brahman with a good infusion in his veins of the blood of his conquered host, but he was bound to deny the warrior, trading and agricultural classes their old status of twice born, not so much on account of their contamination by mixing with the conquered tribes, as for their having abandoned the ranks of Brahmanism.

Dravidian, Turanian, and pre-Turanian elements among the Konkanis.

8. We have now to see what were the tribes conquered and civilised by the Aryans in Konkan and Kanara, in which we discover the Konkani-speaking peoples within historical times. If we study the elements of the Konkani language, we shall find that the *Deshaj* (indigenous) roots of the language, apart from a few newly imported Dravidian words, cannot be traced to any of the Dravidian languages *e. g. dolo* (eye), *pot* (belly), *zād* (heavy), *vat* (way). Whence do these roots then come ? This is a point to which I cannot do justice at present. Perhaps they can be traced to the Turanian or some other non-Aryan language that anticipated the Dravidians in India.

Semitic and Ethiopic elements among the Konkanis.

9. In tracing the racial development of some of the Konkani communities, we must bear in mind that from the most ancient times the western coast of India was visited by merchants from Egypt, Syria, and Arabia. That many Ethiopians, Israelites, and Arabs settled on this coast there cannot be any doubt. The Beni Israelites of Bombay and Cochin are the only people that have survived as a distinct class of those ancient settlers. Of the modern settlers that intermarried with the local women, there are the Navayats (Konkani Mahomedans), Maplas and other Mahomedans. The ancient Arabic and Ethiopic elements most probably coalesced with the local tribes, out of whom with the Aryans must have sprung a new race and castes by a natural process, if Parashuram or some other enterprising Brahman did not actually shape them with his own hand.

CHAPTER II.

GAUD SARASVAT BRAHMANS.

Sarasvat Brahmans.

10. The Konkani-speaking Brahmans go by the names of *Sarasvat, Gaud Sarasvat, Gomantaki, Goan, Konkani or Shenvi Brahmans.* They are divided into several sub-castes, namely, Shenvis, Sasatkars, Narvankars, Divadkars, Pednekars, Bardeskars, Kudaldeskars, Shenvipaiks or Kushalthalis, Bhalvalekars, Kelosikars, Lotlikars with Kadape and Kajule Divadkars and Rajpurkars. Many Brahmans deny these communities the rank of Brahmans. They affirm that the so-called Sarasvat Brahmans of Goa are confined only to three out of the six Brahminical functions. It is further asserted that they are only the offspring of certain northern India Brahmans intermarrying with the women of the Konkan and Kanara, who were not of the recognised Brahman caste. It is of some importance to examine the data, on which these opinions are based to see how far they correspond with facts.

Geographical distribution of Brahmans in India.

11. The Brahmans of India are classed under the two main divisions of the Panch Gauda and the Panch Dravida Brahmans. This division is based on geographical distribution of the Brahmans north and south of the Vindhya

mountains. The Panch Dravida division comprises (1) the Dravid or Tamil; (2) the Andhra or Telagu; (3) the Karnatika, which branch includes the Havik, Saklapuri, Kota, Shivalli, Habbu and other sub-castes; (4) the Maharastra, including the Chitpavan or Kokanastha, Deshastha, Devarukha, Karkade and other sub-castes, and (5) the Gujar including the Agarval, Audich and other sub-castes. None of these Brahmans eat animal food. No intermarriages take place among these five Dravida branches, but interdining is allowed among the first four branches.

The Panch Gauda division comprises the following branches :—(i) The Ulkala Brahmans of Orissa, speaking the Aryan language, which resembles Bengali. (ii) The Kanya-Kubja or Kanoja Brahmans, comprising (1) the Kanoj Brahmans, a stalworth, well-built people of a soldierly bearing, who are subdivided into some twelve sub-castes, including Mishra, Dube, Shukla and others, and who are the founders of the Hindi and Hindustani languages; (2) the Bengali and Assam Brahmans, who are said to have descended from five priests invited from Kanoj by Adhisura, King of Gauda or Bengal. about 300 B. C.; and (3)theNepal Brahmans. (iii) The Maithila Brahmans of the old Maithula kingdom of Ramayana, now Tirhut and adjoining districts, subdivided inte six branches, (iv) The Gauda Brahmans, supposed to derive their name from Gaur, the old capital of Bengal, but at present confined to the suba of Delhi. Referring to them Dr. Wilson, in his work *Indian Castes*, says :—

> The Gaudas with the Sarasvatas are in a certain sense the most liberalised and the least regardful of Brahminical institutes of all the Brahmins of India, and the Brahmins intermediate between them and Gauda may be mainly seceders from the position which they had assumed. Religious accordance and sympathy with the practices of the ancient Gaud Brahmins may be the real reason of the appropriation which they have made of the title of Gauda, and not any descent by generation. A case paralelled to this supposition is found in the majority of the Brahmins of Gujarat and even in some instances in those of Rajputana, as the Shirvali, who take their general denomination from the Panch Dravida (mainly from their avoidance of the taking of animal food), although they have no connection whatever with the south of India. The comparative liberality and common sense of the Gauda Brahmins (including the Sarasvats associated with them), it may be safely said, has been noticed in many parts of India.

(v) The Sarasvat Brahmans, whose main subdivisions are (1) the Kashmiri Brahmans. Mr. George Campbell, in his *Ethnology of India*, classes these with the Sarasvats, as there is much in common between them in their physical features and social habits. He writes :—"Kashmiri are quite high Aryan in the type of their features, having very fair handsome and high chiseled features, with no trace of intermixture of the blood of any lower tribe. The high nose slightly aquiline, but by no means what we call Jewish, is a common type." They eat flesh and appear to be very little under the trammels of the ordinary caste rules. "The fact appears to be," remarks Willson, "that they have been little affected by modern Hinduism and caste system." (2) The Punjab Sarasvats, divided into four great classes, which are again subdivided into some five hundred sections named after their localities, nicknames or gotras. Many of them are *purohits* or family priests. (3) The Sindh Sarasvats, most of whom eat animal food. (4) Gujerat and Rajputana Sarasvats, subdivided into (*a*) Sorathiya, who officiate generally as priests of the Khatris (Kshatriyas) and Parajye goldsmiths, (*b*) Sindhavas, who officiate as priests of the Loboas and Bhansalas : these Brahmans do not eat animal food, probably out of regard to the prejudices of their neighbours. (5) The Konkani Brahmans of Goa, Kanara and Cochin, who claim to be one of the branches of the Sarasvat section of the Panch Gauda Brahmans, hence they are called Sarasvat or Gaud Sarasvat Brahmans.

Konkani Brahmans. Name, origin and tradition.

12. The Konkani Brahmans, (speaking the Konkani language and as distinguished from the Konkanasth or Chitpavan Brahmans), as I have stated above, are known by the names of *Gaud—Sarasvats*, *Sarasvats*, or *Goan Gomantaki* or *Konkani* Brahmans or *Shenvis*. Claiming as they do, to be the chips of the Gaud-Sarasvat Brahmans of Northern India, they trace their descent from the early pure Aryan colony that settled on the banks of the Sarasvati, a river identified by some with the Sarasvati of modern times (Sarsuti near Thaneshwar in the Punjab), but as described in the *Rigveda* identified by some with the Indus or even the Haracquati of the Avesta (the modern Helmand, whose shifting course occupies at present the attention of the Seistan Boundary

Commission). The Sarasvati Brahmans form the subject of an interesting episode in the Mahabarata. It is related in the Gada Parva of that famous epic that there lived on the banks of the Sarasvati a son of the Rishi Dadichi—named Sarasvat—while a dreadful famine raged in India for 12 years and carried away thousands of people. Some Brahmans had recourse to Sarasvat and were entertained as his disciples. They numbered 60,000 or *Satsahastra*. Sarasvat Rishi, it was found,* was enabled to bear the famine by living on the fish of the river Sarasvati, and his disciples also took to the fish diet as the only means of saving their lives. With the Aryan colonization of Northern India, the Sarasvat Brahmans settled in various parts of the country, Sind, Rajputana, Tirhoot, Bengal (or Gaur) and other provinces. How and when they settled in Western India, is related to us in *Shahyadari* † *Khand* of the Skanda Purana, *Mangesh Mahatmya*, *Konkan-akhyana* and other books, which have recorded the traditions current among the people of their origin and settlement, with their own versions of the events, which must be taken for what they are worth. Parashuram (Rama with the axe), it is related, having reclaimed the land below the Western Ghauts from the sea by hurling down his powerful axe, brought with him sixty-six or *shahashast* families of Brahmins from Tirhoot with their family gods, and granted them the most fertile and beautiful province in this land, namely Gomantak or Gomanchal (Goa). They were distributed over 66 villages of the southern district, hence called *Shahashasti or Sashti or Salsette*, and 30 villages of the island called at present Ilha, *Tisvadi*, altogether 96 (*Shahanav*) villages. The Brahmans spread themselves over the northern districts of *Bardesh* (12 villages), *Pedne and Kudal* Mahals and other parts of the Goa province and South Konkan. They were called by the names of the villages in which they had settled as *Kushasthalis*, *Kelosikars*, *Bhalvalekars*, *Mainkars*, and also by the names of their districts as *Sasastikars*, *Bardeshkars*, *Kudaldeshkars*, *Shenvis*, the last name being derived by some from the 96 (*Shahannav*) villages, in

* Whatever be the truth of this legend, it cannot be denied that a large number of Brahmans made frequent use of meat even in the times of the Mahabarata, a practice which many northern India Brahmans still adhere to.

† Published by Dr. Gerson da Cunha.

which the 66 or as some say 96 families of Brahmans were distributed. Each village* constituted a complete self contained corporation with all professional castes, the highest of whom were the Brahmans, entitled to special privileges in the control of the village administration and in the certain perquisites or incomes from the village corporation lands.

The original colony of Gaud-Sarasvats is said to have received, as related in the *Mangesh Mahatmaya*, further accession of immigrants of Brahmans from Kanya-kubja or Kanouj, led by (1) Devasarma of the Vatsa gotra (2) Lomasarma of the Kaundinya gotra, brother-in-law of Devasarma, and (3) Shivasarma of the Kaushika gotra, cousin of Devasarma. The first two settled in the village of Kushashthali, and the last in the village of Keloshi. It is said that they had been on their way to Rameshwaram, but that they were so struck with the beauty and spirituality of the place during their halt in Goa, that they converted their halt into permanent residence. The memory of the Sharmas is preserved by means of figures placed before the images of the God Mangesh and the Goddess Shantadurga, which the Sharmas are supposed to have brought from Tirhoot.

13. The Gaud Sarasvat Brahmans brought by Parashuram, as told us by Shahayadari Khand, belonged to the first ten *gotras* mentioned in the margin. In adition to these six more have found their way into the community. Each gotra form an *exogamous* subdivision, that is a group from within which its male members cannot take their wives. There are not any subdivisions of the Gaud

Exogamous and Hypergamous division.

1. Bharadvaj.
2. Kaushika.
3. Vatsa.
4. Jamadagni.
5. Kaundinya.
6. Vishwamitra.
7. Vasistha.
8. Kashyapa.
9. Gautama.
10. Atri.
11. Shankaping.
12. Gargha.
13. Sankyayan.
14. Dhananjaya.
15. Nayshavya.
16. Harita.

* An exhaustive account was published by the Portuguese Government in 1526 in *Foral de usos e Costumes*. The work deserves re-publication with translation, as it is sure to throw much light on the old village organization in the Konkan.

The other derivations given are :—1. From *Sheni* or *Shanbhog*, meaning writer or accountant, since the Gaud Sarasvats were largely employed in capacity; but it may be that the word *Sheni* is derived from *Shahanav* and the meaning writer or accountant came to be attached to the word from the fact that the *Shahanav* Brahmans were employed largely as clerks. 2. From *Shahan*=wise and clever. No doubt the Sarasvats are wise and clever, but it is doubtful whether they can claim that quality as a monopoly.

Sarasvats in Western India, as among some of their kinsmen in the north, of an *hypergamous* nature, that arises from the custom, which forbids a woman of a particular group to marry a man of a group lower than his own, and compels her to marry in a group equal or superior in rank.

Probable date of Settlement on West Coast

14. The claim of the Konkani Brahmans to be the progeny of Northern India Brahmans brought to the Western Coast by Parashuram should not be accepted without some caution. Parashuram, the so called incarnation of Vishnu, is supposed to be the author of several remarkable feats, the principal of which are: (1) the reclamation of the coast lands below the Ghauts from the sea, a fact which is true enough, as is found from the study of the flora of the country, (2) the invasion of this country by the Aryans, (3) the formation of the Brahman castes out of the people found there. It is probable that among the more advanced Dravidian and other pre-Aryan peoples of India there must have existed, as among the ancient British, Irish, Egyptian and Jewish nations, hereditary priestly as well as military classes. The earliest Aryan colonists including the Brahmans, having received these elements within the pale of Hinduism, could have found no difficulty in engrafting them in their own social system and in intermarrying with them, when marriages with strangers were not so strictly prohibited as now. The progeny of such marriages, when the parties were of more or less equal social rank in their own respective tribes, must have maintained their hereditary rank without degradation. Out of these mixed elements there arose the majority of the Panch Dravid Brahmans. Their religious practices were profoundly affected by Jainism, which was paramount Western and Southern India for several centuries before and after Christ, resulting in their adopting the rule of rigorous abstinence from the use of all animal food and other rigid rules of life, prevailing among the Jains, to an extent which has never entered into the habits of life and religious practices of the Northern India Brahmans. Now if Parashuram is connected with the early invasion of the Western India by the Aryans, which must have occured some centuries before Christ, it would be preposterous to make him also the leader of the Gaud Sarasvat Brahman colony in the West Coast. If they had come with earlier

immigrants, how could they escape the influence, to which the rest were subjected, as in the eating of fish, which, under the name of sea-vegetable, enters largely into the daily diet of many of them? Had they come with the early immigrants, they would probably have merged with the Maharastra and other Dravid Brahmans. It must be borne in mind that the division of Brahmans into Panch Gauda and Panch Dravida is a modern one, being based on the modern geographical distribution of those communities. Had the Sarasvats stood out as a separate community from ancient lines, their presence would have been marked in the distribution of the Brahmans. Moreover if Parashuram had brought them at such an early date, as is claimed, for the purpose of performing sacrifices, how can we account for the little hold they have maintained as a priestly class over the Konkani lower castes, especially those of Goa? As a matter of fact there is not found in Western India a single Konkani Vaishya, Kshatriya, Sudra or other low caste, who have for their purohits or bhats a Konkani Brahman. On the contrary many Konkani Brahmans employ other Brahmans as their bhats. That the Konkani Brahmans have largely taken to worldly professions does not sufficiently explain their entire disassociation from the lower castes, who speak the same tongue. The only conclusion we can come to therefore is, that the Gaud Sarasvats were a late importation into the West coast, and as held by the late Dr. Bhau Daji, a great Shenvi scholar, not earlier than 7 or 8 centuries ago.

Supposed connection with Bengal.

15. It is asserted by some that Konkani Brahmans have had some connection with Bengal because of similar tendencies in certain sounds in both the Bengali and Konkani languages, e.g. nouns ending in *á* in Marathi and Hindi ending *o* in Bengali and Konkani, as *goda*, *godo*; both Bengali and Konkani incline to the *sh*, while Marathi inclines to the sound *s*. It is suggested by Beames in his *Comparative Grammar of the Aryan Languages* that these tendencies may be due to climatic influences of low lying lands. This reason hardly explains the fact. It has been also suggested that the tendency towards broader sound like *á* is due to Dravidian influences on the Sanscrit or Prakrit dialects, from which Marathi and Hindi are derived, for in Sanscrit the termination of words like *goda* is

o as in Konkani. Whatever the explanation may be of the facts, there cannot surely be any particular connection between Konkani and Bengali; for Konkani has so much more in connection with Marathi than with Bengali in the matter of inflexions and roots, that Konkani and Marathi should be regarded in the light of twin sisters, while Bengali is a distant cousin of Konkani. The error arises probably from identifying all the Konkani people with the Konkani Brahmans, whereas the Konkani non-Brahmans constitute the majority of the people speaking that tongue. The fact appears to be that the Konkani language had been long in process of formation among an Aryan people settled in the South Konkan before the progenitors of the present Konkani speaking Brahmans came to Western India and adopted that language, differing as it did then little from their own Northern India Prakrit dialect. Further confirmation of the legend of Parashuram's fetching the progenitors of the Goa Brahmans from Bengal or Tirhoot is sought in the facts that they like the Bengalis freely rub their head with oil and also like them are fond of rice gruel, *pej*, and that the honorific *bab* is probably acorruption of *babu* in Bengali and *mangesh* the name of their well known family god is derived from *monghyr*. But the use of *pej* and the practice of rubbing the head with oil and calling others by the tittle *bab* out of respect or in endearment are very common along the Western coast among other castes and needed no examples from Bengal to follow. It is also possible that the worship of Mangesh and other deities was adopted from the people of Goa, who had preceded the Sarasvat Brahmans.

Though many of the reasons assigned to prove the Bengal or Tirhoot origin of the Brahmans cannot hold water, the deep rooted tradition among the Brahmans confirmed by their habits and their physical characteristics go far to prove that they hail from the north and are a branch of the Panch-Gaud Brahmans, that immigrated into Goa, though some conturies after Christ.

Supposed intermarriages with low caste women.

16. As regards the growth of the Konkani Brahman or Sarasvat community in Goa, it has been suggested in the recent interesting Census Report that they may be the progeny of the Northern India Brahmans that settled in Goa and had conne-

ction with fair women belonging to no recognized caste. Enjoying as Goa did from time immemorial a prosperous commerce with Arabia, Egypt, Persia and Gujerat, it attracted to its shores a cosmopolitan population, which must have given rise to a mixed class of people, with a proportion of fair women that made Goa the fairyland of India. Was not the province called Gopalashtra because the Gopis of Krishna and of some such lusty prince of Gujerat were transferred from Dwaraka called also *Kushashtali* to Goa? Descending from speculation to facts, there can be no doubt that Goa was once the stronghold of fair women and it was only after the conquest of the Portuguese that its seat was shifted to North Kanara. That Northren India Brahmans coming to Goa about the 10th century after Christ should have contracted alliances with the fair women belonging to its cosmopolitan people, at a time when so much laxity was allowed in the matter of marriages by the Shashtras, would not be strange. This surmise receives some confirmation from an account given in the manuscript history of the Gaud Sarasvat called *Konkan-akhyana*, written by a Shenvi about 150 years ago. In the fifth chapter of the 2nd part of the book, it is observed that in former times there existed no restrictions among the people against intermarriages between different castes and as instances the auther mentions that Devasarma and his two relations, that settled in Kushasthali and Keloshi secretly received fair women in marriage, who belonged to no recognized caste and that they had a progeny of sons and daughters, who were of course recognized as Brahmans. This liberty of marrying women of high classes belonging to other tribes was a privilege, which all Brahmans and other classes in India once enjoyed, without any degradation being inflicted on the progeny, or with such degradation as was easily removed after some generations.

Political history,

17. The province of Goa was, for several generations previous to its capture by the Mussalmans, administered with the advice of the Gaud Sarasvat Brahmans by Kshatrya chiefs like the Silharis and Kadambas, who owed allegiance to severeigns that ruled above the Ghats, the Chalukyas of Badami, the Rashtrakutras, the Chalukyas of Kalyani, the Ballalas, the Yadavas of Devagiri, and the Vijayanagar Kings. Under the rule of these dynasties the province always enjoyed prosperity, in which

the Brahmans had an ample share. Their temples received large grants from these kings and otherwise the Brahmans were patronized in every way, that could satisfy their religious aspirations or their worldly ambition.

Secularization of the Konkani Brahmans

18. The Goa Brahmans appear to have been originally assigned the performance of the six functions allotted to the Brahmans, namely *adyayan* (study of Shashtras), *dan* (alms-giving) *yujan* (sacrificing by deputy), *adyapan* (teaching sashtras), *pratigraha* (accepting gifts). *yajan* (sacrificing personally). Many of the Goa Brahmans, however in their eagerness for worldly pursuits and finding perhaps little to do as priests, gradually gave up the last three functions, hence called *Tricurmi* Brahmans as distinguished from *Shatkarmi* Brahmans. At present the majority of Goa Brahmans may be said to be tricurmi, if not something less, as are many other Brahman communities.

Exodus from Goa.

19. Goa was taken in 1469 by the Bahmini King, and after the Bahmini regime had lasted about 50 years, it was wrested from them by the Khan of Bijapur. In 1510 the Portuguese established themselves in Goa. On the capture of Goa by the Mussalmans, the Brahmans and other Hindu communities began to leave the country in large numbers and settle in Kanara, Malwan and Vengurla. The exodus increased to a large extent after the Portuguese had taken possession of Goa and begun to carry out their religious propaganda with great vigour and prohibited all public Hindu worship. The Brahmans transferred their family gods either to the Western and Southern districts of Goa beyond the then Portuguese territory or to Kanara. A number of Brahmans took ships and settled in Cochin, where they have grown into a large colony.

Religious sects and endogamous subdivisions

20. The first division among the Konkani Brahmans was caused by the secession of a large number of them from the sect of Sankaracharya, the Shaivite teacher that based his philosophy on the *Advait* principle of the being of God, to that of Madhavecharya, the Vaishnvite teacher, that taught the principle of *Dvait*. Madhavacharya was born near Udipi in the 12th century and this secession must have therefore taken

place in the 12th or 13th century. The Kushasthalis, Kudaldeshkars and the literary class of Sasastikars (called Shenvis) adhered to Sankaracharya's religion, while a large body of Sasastikars, Bardeshkars and Pednekars went over to Madhpavaharya. This appears to have caused only a temporary split, when the parties were in the heat of religious controversy raised; but when the heat cooled, intermarriage and a social intercourse was resumed between Shaivites and Vaishanvites. The break up of the original one caste into endogomous sub-castes, that is groups, within each of which its male member ought to find his wife, was caused subsequent to the above event. The following table shows these divisions with their religion and gotras. The approximate population is shown in round figures in regard to British India and Native States. No figures are available for Goa.

Sub-castes.	Gotras.	Religion.
(1) Gaud-Sarasvats, comprising, (a) Shenvis, (b) Sasastikars or Konkanis, (c) Cochinkars (Pop. 60,000 in Kanara, Ratnagiri, Savantwadi, Cochin, &c.)	Vatsa, Kaushika, Atri, Kaundinya, Bharadvaj Jamadagni. Vishwamitra, Gautama, Haritasya, Shankaping, Garga, Kashyah, Dhananjaya	(1) Partly (Shenvis generally) Smartas or Shaivites, having their Swami at Chitkali Khanapur (Belgaum) Kaule (Goa) and Nasik, and. (2) Partly (Sasastikars & Cochinkars generally) Vaishnavites, the Swami of the Sasastikars being the Gokarn Swami residing at Partgal in Goa, and that of the Cochinkars, the Swami of Kasimath in Cochin.
(2) Pednékars (in Ratnagiri and Kanara).	Kaushika, Atri, Bharadvaj, Shankaping.	Vaishnavites, revere the Partgal-Swami.
(3) Bardeshkars (Pop. 1,000 in Ratnagiri, Sawantvadi and Kanara)	Jamadagni, Vatsa, Bharadvaj, Atri, Vasishta.	Vaishnavites, have no recognised Swami, but those in Kanara reverence the Partgal Swami.
(4) Bhalvalekars. (in Ratnagiri).	Not known.	Smartas, obey the Shringeri Swami.
(5) Rajpurkars (in Kanara).	Not known.	Do.

Sub-castes.	Gotras.	Religion.
(6) Kudaldeshkars (Pop. 5500 in Savantvadi, Ratnagiri and Kanara).	Bharadvaj, Kaushika, Jamadagni, Vatsa, Kaundinya, Vasishta, Atri	Smartas, obey the Shringeri Swami.
(7) Lotalikars (in Ratnagiri and Savantvadi.)	Kaundinya and Vatsa.	Do.
(8) Kudapekajnles (in Ratnagiri)	Not known,	Do.
(9) Divadkars (in Ratnagiri and Savantvadi)	Not known.	Do.
(10) Narvankars (in Ratnagiri and Savantvadi.)	Not known.	Do.
(11) Kushashthali or Sarasvats with Keloshikars (Pop. 20,000 in Kanara, Belgaum, Dharwar, &c.)	Vatsa, Kaundinya, Kaushika, Bharadvaj, Atri.	Smartas, having their Swami at Shirali or Chitrapur in North Kanara.

21. The origin of these sub-divisions so far as can be ascertained is given below :—

Origin of the sub-caste.

The Shenvis, Sastikars & Cochinkars.—The Sasastikars and Cochinkars form one caste, but in Kanara the Smarta portion of the community are called Shenvis and the Vaishnavites go by the name of Konkanis. The Cochinkars are the Sasastikars, that settled in Cochin after the Portuguese had taken Salsette. The three sub-divisions mix with one another, interdine and intermarry freely. They do not however take the food cooked by the other sub-castes mentioned above, at any rate not publicly. They have taken themselves to every high profession of life in British territory, as priests, Government servants, pleaders, merchants, shopkeepers, tile-manufacturers, and cultivators. Considering the important part they play in various* professions of life with such conspicuous success, they must be considered as the most remarkable of the Hindu communities of Western India.

* We may mention only the names of Dr. Bhandarkar, PH. D., the late Justice Telang, Mr. Ganesham Nadkarni.

Pednekars.—(From Pedne Mahal in the North of the province of Goa)—There is a very curious story of the origin of this sub-caste. It is said that at a nuptial ceremony of a Pednekar girl, at which Brahmans from Tisvadi, Bardesh and Kudaldesh were present, she was asked by the officiating priest to adjust her dress or, as some say, to take a particular step first at the Saptapadi, but she answered very pettishly saying that she knew her business well and needed no advice. One of the guests thereupon observed that the girl must have therefore gone through the marriage ceremony once before. There was then an uproar and row in the whole pandal and scene was one easy to imagine than describe. The upshot of the affair was that we have now to count in our midst one more sub-caste in addition to thousand others. They hold a position below the Shenvis and Sasastikars, who do not interdine or intermarry with them. They are on the whole a poor community, given to cultivation and petty trade.

Bardeshkars.—(From Bardez or twelve villages in the north-west of Goa).—As related by some, they were out-casted, because they persisted in eating food when crossing the river or carrying food across the river and eating it in the fields on the other side. It is said, however, in some quarters that this account is false and that the schism between the Bardeshkars and their compatriots arose from a political dispute between two chiefs, who were brothers, and the Bardeshkars taking side with one of them, who was worsted in the dispute. Until recently the other Gaud Sarasvats treated them as out-castes, but there have been signs within the last few years of reconciliation between them and the Sasastikars. A few intermarriages have taken place, though as a result of at least one of them the Gaud Sarasvats out-casted a member of their's for having married a Bardeshkar girl about 15 years ago. The Swami of Partgal is recognized as their Guru by the Bardeshkars of Goa and Kanara. The Swami convened in the year 1901 a sabha of Gaud Sarasvats and Bardeshkars in his Math, and both classes were declared to be on a footing of equality. A notice was also issued by the Swami permitting intermarriages between the Bardeshkars and the other Gaud Sarasvats. Party feeling however still runs high between the castes. One of the Bardeshkars, who recently proceeded to Europe from Sirsi (Kanara) was

on his return out-casted by some of his caste men at Sirsi, though he has performed the penance administered to him by a Sasastikar Bhat of their local temple, at the instance of some of the caste men; but when a reference was made to the Partgal Swami, they were told very politically to abide by the unanimous decision of the caste in Vingurla, Goa, and other places, though until then it would be better for them to keep aloof from the England returned gentleman. Another gentleman, who proceeded to England from the Ratnagiri district in company with the Gaikwar of Baroda was re-admitted into caste on his performing the penance prescribed to him by his caste people. But it is supposed that he had all necessary facilities to observe the caste customs as to diet and religious worship. The community is advancing rapidly like the Shenvis and Sasastikars and are to be found in every important walk of life. In Kanara they employ Sasastikars as their bhats. But in Vingurla they have got their own priests.

Bhalvalikars.—(From Bhalvale, a village in Goa). These villagers were out-casted, it is said, because they departed from the orthodox practice and degraded themselves by irreligious conduct. They are employed as servants by the other sub-castes and occupy otherwise a low position in the social scale.

Rajpurkars.—(From Rajpuri, a village in Goa). They were out-casted because one of their members married a girl, whose caste was not known. They employ Karhade Brahmans as their priests. In profession they are usually traders. The other Gaud Sarasvat castes regard them as having altogether lost the status of Brahmans.

Kudaldeshkars.—(From Kudal, a Mahal of the province of Goa, now part in Savantvadi). A man from the village of Maim in Kudal was imprudent enough to claim precedence at a wedding in the house of a Savant called Vetam. This roused much party feeling, which was embittered by the low caste chief demanding the Mainkar's daughter's hand. Whereupon she sought the aid of a chief of Devli (in Kudal). He cunningly arranged for a sham marriage with Vetam, who on arriving in the marriage pandal and seeing the Devlikar chief there, murdered the girl and was murdered in his turn by the Devlikar. The result was that at *Kudaldeshkars* in-

cluding the *Mainkars* and *Devlikars* were out-casted. The last two were afterwards readmitted into the main caste, but the Kudaldeshkars as a body were too proud to submit and remain to this day a separate caste. They take largely to cultivation and are on the whole well to do. They take the food cooked by the Shenvis and Sasastikars, but the Shenvis and Sasastikars will not eat with them.

Kushasthali or Sarasvat Brahmans.—The following interesting account appears in the Bombay Gazetteer (Kanara Volume) about them :—

"They take their name from Kushastali, one of the thirty villages of the island of Goa. They are commonly known as *Shenvipaikis* or people of the Shenvi class. But they dislike this name and prefer to be called Sarasvats, a name common to all branches of Gaud Brahmans. They are said to have come to Kanara after the establishment of the Inquisition (1580) in Goa, but they, at least some of them, probably came earlier either when Goa fell to the Portuguese in 1510 or when it was taken by the Dekkan Mussalmans in 1469. According to their own account they separated from the Shenvis long after their arrival in Kanara. The cause of separation was according to one account a property dispute between two leading families, according to others the split arose about 150 years ago out of a religious quarrel regarding the choice of a spiritual Teacher, as the former Teacher had two disciples and failed to name one of them as his successor. The whole Shenvi community ranged themselves on one side or the other, and ill feeling rose so high that they agreed to separate, one side keeping to the north and the other to the south of the Gangavali river, which runs through the present subdivision of the Ankola Taluka. The two branches are still keen rivals, especially in their competition for Government service."

The above account explains the immediate causes of the split, but there were it seems deeper causes which had been long in operation. The villagers of Kushasthali and Kelosi appear from tradition to have always associated together in more ambitious enterprizes than the other village communities of Goa. It was the Kushasthalis and Kelosikars that entertained in their villages the three Sharmas and granted them land and offered them girls in marriage. With this fresh infusion of northern blood in their veins, they always aimed at the highest places in the state service, and easily succeeded in their ambition. They soon monopolised the highest offices under their king, and became even too powerful for their master. An attempt was made on their lives in a secret intrigue in which the other villages and the king joined to destroy the too powerful Kushasthalis and Kelosikars. They managed however to escape. Since then there has been always bitter rivalry between them and the other Gaunkars. The

final split has only divided them into two irreconcilable factions, that carry their clannishness to a pitch, which exists among few other rival castes. Among the Kushasthalis themselves the question of "*England returned*" men has led to a sharp division which threatens to split them into two new castes. The Kushasthalis generally take to state service or the legal profession * and count among them some leading men in the country.

Household deities of Goa.

22. We shall now briefly touch on some peculiar features of the customs, religious and social of the Gaud Sarasvat Brahmans. Divided into the sects of Vaishnavites and Shaivites, the Gaud Sarasvats besides worshipping the gods respectively belonging to each sect, have their family gods or *Kul-devs* whose worship is preserved in the family wherever it may settle. The principal family gods are the following :

(1) *Mangesh*,—There is an interesting tradition as to the derivation of the word Mangesh, showing that he is only an *alter ego* of the god *Shankar*. It is said that in the village of Kaila Paravati and her husband Shankar were playing a game called *Sari-pat*, in which Paravati having won, Shankar became very furious with anger and his chagrin at his defeat was so great, that he went into a retreat to do penance. Parvati went in search of her husband and when she came to the village of Aghanishin, she came in sight of a tiger and started back in terror exclaiming "*Trahi mana Girisha*," that is, Protect me, oh Lord, of mountains. On hearing this exclamation the tiger resumed his natural form, which was no other than of her own husband Shankar, now transformed into *man girisha* or *mangesh*. Some derive the word from 'monghyr' in Bengal, from whence the god is said to have been brought. Both the derivations are fanciful. It is said that the god Mangesh—as well as the goddess Shanta Durga can be shown to have had † local origin. The god Mangesh had his seat formerly in the village of Kushasthali and has now his temple in the village Mangeshi. He is the favourite god of the Kaundinya, Vatsa and Kausika gotras of the Shaivites.

* Mr. Justice Chandavarkar and Dr. Rau, M. D., London, are members of this caste

† Bombay Puzettur Kanara Vol. p. 139

(2) *Shanta-Durga.*—This goddess had her seat formerly at *Kelosi*, and has now a temple at *Kowle*. Shanta is supposed to be the deified daughter of King Dasrath, father of Rama, who married a Brahman, when marriages between the Vedic castes were allowed. She is the favourite goddess of the Bharadvaj and Vatsa gotras of the Shaivites.

The other important house-hold deities are those mentioned below with their seats &c., being all worshipped by the Vaishnavites.

Deities.	Their former seats	Their present seats	The gotras which worship them.
(4) Mhalsa	Verne	Madhholen	Kaushika and other gotras.
(5) Mahalaxmi	Kolave	Bhandivade	Do.
(6) Nagesh	Bhandivade	Bhandivade	Do.
(7) Ramnath	Lotali	Bhandivade	Kaundinya and Vatsa gotras.
(8) Damodhar	Matagram (Madgaum)	Jambavali	Kaushika, Bharadvaj and Atri gotras
(9) Kamaksha	Ray	Siravade	Vatsa and other gotras
(10) Laxmi Narayen	Adosi	Kundai	Kaushika and other gotras.

Village deities in new Settlements.

23. The Konkani Brahmans also propitiate in addition to the household gods of Goa, the local village deities (*gram-devates*), wherever they settle, whom the Shaivites believe to be the transformation of one of their favourite Aryan deities. His offerings are made to them through the local Shudra priests in the shape of cocoanuts, fowls and other things. *Mariamma*, the small-pox goddess, is especially propitiated. The ghosts of a deceased pregnant woman, an unmarried youth drowned or killed by accident or violence are very much dreaded. This sort of spirit worship or demonology though locally adopted from pre-Aryans, was prevalent among Aryans as among other races. Its characteristic is, that it is not generally

carried from place to place but is local as the spirits and demons have always a local habitation and are not believed to be fond of change of place.

Customary Law marriage.

24. In regard to marriage, the Gaud Sarasvats follow the shastras except as to certain usage, which have obtained the force of customary law among them. "As regards marriage of one person with two sisters" writes Mandlik in his *Hindu Law* (page 415) "the text is in some districts respected by usage only to this extent, that their marriage as contemporaneous wives is held improper. But on the death of one wife, her sister is married without the least objection being raised as to the propriety of such an alliance." Among the Gaud Sarasvats such marriages are allowed, when difficulties exist of securing a husband for the deceased wife's sister. So are marriages of two sisters to two brothers not uncommon among them. Contrary alliances (*Virudda Sambadha*) are also in practice. There appears to be objection among the Konkani Brahmans to marriages with sister's daughter or mother's brother's daughter. There is a custom among them as among the Havig Brahmans for the sister of the bridegroom to take a promise from the couple, during marriage ceremonies, that if they get a daughter they will give her in marriage to her son.

Marriage Ceremonies.

25. The Konkani Brahmans marry their boys between the ages of seven and eighteen, and their girls between five and eleven, except among the educated classes, who do not scruple to exceed these limits. Marriages are settled by the parents, and after arriving at some agreement as to what gifts or *vardakshana*, the bride's father is to make to the bridegroom and what the bridegroom is to settle on the bride as *tridhan*, the boy's parents proceed to the bride's house accompanied by friends and relations and a priest, and adorn her with flowers. This completes the ceremony of *Soirik* or bethrothal. Among the Kushasthalis there is a custom of paying in advance a sum varying from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500 to the bride's parents, which are intended to be spent in making ornaments for the girl. The *vardakshana* varies from Rs. 100 to Rs. 2,000 in addition to ornaments with which the girl is decked on the nuptial day by her parents,

which may value even as much as Rs. 1,000 or 2,000. We need not go here over all the details of the marriage ceremonies and customs—which are described minutely in the Kanara volume of the Bombay Gazetteer, but shall note only some striking features. The form of marriage is that of *Brahma*, and its essential part consists in the *Saptapadi*, that is the ceremony of the bride and bridegroom walking together seven steps, and the *Vivahahoma*; that is offering of oblation by throwing rice and ghee into the consecrated fire in honor of the marriage. It is before this fire that the seven steps are taken, the last step completing the marriage sacrament and making the union between the couple as among the Roman Catholics and Eastern Chiristians indissoluble. Before the *Saptapadi* ceremony there is performed another ceremony, which among some Dravidiam tribes of Kanara is considered the essential part of the marriage ritual and appears to have been borrowed by the Gaud Sarasvat Brahmans from the Dravidians. This is the *Dhare* ceremony, which consists in the parents or in their absence the next relation pouring water over the joined hands of the bride and bridegroom. After which the father of the girl addresses the bridegroom saying : "From this day she is given to you. Care for her and provide for her comfort." The water pouring ceremony forms the essential part of the marriage ritual among the Rajpurkars, who are held as a very degraded class of Brahmans by the other sub-castes. It is important to note that all these ceremonies connected with the marriage take place as a rule in an open *pandal* or *mantap* at the bride's house, and not in an inner part of the house as among Deshasth Brahmans. The festivities last at the bride's house for 4 or 5 days. On the last day the girl is solemnly delivered to the parents or elders of the bride by the elders or parents of the bride, the priest on their behalf addressing the former in these words : "We have cared for our child till now and now give her to your son." After this bride and bridegroom proceed to the latter's house, and after festivities lasting one or two days, they go back to the bride's house on a special invitation called

"*partapan*." The festivities continue after this until the tenth day. The bride is then left at her father's house until she arrives at the age of puberty.

Customary Law—Adoption.

26. In regard to adoption, there exist among the Gaud Sarasvats some customs which are opposed to the Shastras. On this subject I may well quote a passage from a judgment of Mr. Justice Candy in the recent case *Manjunath vs. Kaveribai* (Bombay Law Reporter, Vol. IV, page 143) bearing on adoption of daughter's and sister's sons :—

"The late Mr. Mandlik, who was a high authority in Western India, had no hesitation in stating that in this Presidency the adoption of daughter's and sister's sons are common. (*Hindu Law* or *Mayukh*, *Yajnavalkya*, Part II, para. 493.). There is an obvious close connection between these two kinds of adoption. In appeal 36 of 1881 of this Court (Original Suit 326 of 1878 of the Sub-Court, Karwar) the question of adoption of a sister's son among the Sarasvats of Kanara arose and the usage was upheld. In appeal No. 158 of 1890 of the District Court, Kanara, the District Judge found that among the Gaud Sarasvats the usage of adopting a sister's and daughter's son has prevailed for a long past. He referred to Suit 326 of 1878, of the Sub-Court, Karwar, in which, as shown above, the validity of such adoption was similary upheld. In that case the Subordinate Judge remarked on the propinquity of the North and South Kanara Districts to the Dravidian country, where, as we know, such adoptions are upheld *Vaidinada v. Appa* (*I. L. R.* 9 *Mad.* 44.)

Food.

27. The Gaud Sarasvats of all classes or sub-castes—except the Kushasthalis—eat fish occasionally, but even this occasional use is confined to private dinners or *mitra—bojân* or dinners among friends. Onions, and other vegetable roots, like garlic, which are prohibited by the Shastras, are eaten by them. Their usual food is rice, and is eaten as *canji or pej* (gruel), or strained after boiling, with curries and vegetables, ghee, and curds. *Polas* or unleavened bread and cakes of rice, and sweets made of rice flour, cocoanut *god* (molasses) are largely used, especially on festivals. The *Shaktis* or worshippers of the female

force in nature eat the flesh of sheep and fowls and drink liquor after the worship. A small number of the Brahmans living in large towns, now openly or secretly eat mutton and drink liquors freely. But the abuse of liquors among them does not extend beyond what many other Brahman communidoes are secretly addicted to.

Social position and progress.

28. The social position of the Gaud Sarasvats in their relation to the outside civilized world is distinctly in advance of every other Hindu community in Western India. They have largely taken to English education, and there is no branch of the public service and no high profession, in which they do not play a distinguished part. In Mangalore a large number of their girls are well educated, and not a few of Brahman wives and daughters are expert musicians and masters of both Indian and European musical instruments. At a garden party given by the Collector at his bungalow in Mangalore on the Delhi Darbar day to leading European and Indian gentlemen with their families, it was refreshing to find a fair sprinkling of Gaud Sarasvat ladies of high families, many of whom took a leading part with the Christian ladies in the musical performance, to which those present were entertained. The distinguished position which the Gaud Sarasvats occupy as Brahmans in Western India is however not fully recognized by the Dravid Brahmans. None of the Dravid Brahman castes, though interdining is allowed among four of their divisions, will take *katcha* food with them on the same pankti, or eat any food cooked by them. Their principal objection to associate with the Gaud Sarasvats on a footing of equality is the use of fish in their food by the latter community, which practice they share with many of the Northern India Brahmans and also perhaps their more liberal tendencies. In the province of Goa and in Kanara, as far as the Gangavali river their position as Brahmans is duly ackowledged by all lower castes who call them the 'Brahmans.' But South of the Gangavali river—they are called Gaud Sarasvats, and in the Maharashtra country beyond Goa—they go by the name of

Shenvis, as if they were not Brahmans. But I hope I have been able to prove that the Gaud Sarasvats or Shenvis are not a whit less entitled to the status of Brahmans than any other community in India that claim or pass to be Brahmans.

CHAPTER III.

KONKANI NON-BRAHMAN HINDUS.

Konkani non-Brahman Hindu castes have in the Bombay Presidency a population of about two lakhs, while the Konkani Brahmans number about 75,000. All of them are professional castes, that left Goa either before or after it was taken by the Mussulmans or since it came into the hands of the Portuguese. By far the great majority of them are found in North Kanara, while a few have found their way to South Kanara, Belgaum, Savantvadi and Ratnagiri. The figures of those who are left behind in Goa are not available. We shall make below a few notes about each of these castes. The population given against each is wherever available taken from the recent Census Report of the Bombay Presidency.

(1). We shall take first the *Dancing-girl castes*—because they play a very important part in the social and religious life of the Konkani Hindus. The following are the principal of them :—

I. *Regular Kalavants* subdivided into (*a*) Borikars, (*b*) Bandodkars, (*c*) Shirodkars, (*d*) Kakodkars, (*d*) Phatarpekars, (*e*) Narvenkars, (*f*) Hanmantkars, which are the surnames borne by the caste people and are derived mostly from the villages in Goa from which they originally came. (Pop. 315 males and 420 females).

(II). *Devlis or Devli Kalvants.* (Pop. 4,615 males and 4,051 females).

(III). *Adbatkis* or Half slaves (pop. 900 males and 1,000 females as shown in the Census of 1881).

(IV). *Bandis* or bondsmen (pop. 3,752 males and 4,099 females).

These castes are placed according to the social rank they enjoy. The Kalavants stand first. They are known as *naikins* and are the highest professional singers and dancers, and are usually hired for dancing and singing at weddings and other festivities. In Konkani temples they have the right to begin the dancing and singing on grand festivals and on ordinary occasions go and sing in the temple religious hymns accompanied with dancing. They are entitled

to certain hereditary rights for their services, which they zealously guard against encroachment from the Devlis and other courtesan castes. The Devlis and others of their kind are not employed for dancing unless they are invested with the scarf and bells by a naikin. They all drink liquor and eat animal food. Many of them have adopted marriage as an institution in their social life, as preferable to the loose connection which obtains among them.

Law applicable to dancing girls.

The ordinary law undergoes some modifications when applied to dancing girls. A dancing girl's property devolves upon her children in equal shares without distinction of sex, or in their absence upon sisters and brothers in equal shares, or in their absence upon a sister's children and also children of a brother if they are born in wedlock, and so on. The right of adoption by dancing girls has been recognized by the Madras High Court (11 Mad. 393), but this custom has been refused recognition by the Bombay High Court being repugnant to public conscience of a modern Hindu (4 Bo. 545). There are however large endowments in connection with dancing girls attached to temples, and so it has been held by the Bombay High Court that where lands are not claimed as being the property of an adopter (the last incumbent), but as part of the endowment of the temple of which she had been the manager and the alleged adoption has only the effect of nominating the adopted girl as successor in the management and according to the custom of the temple the actual incumbent of the office of dancing girl in the temple appoints her successor, such custom must be recognized (14 Bo. 90).

The gross sacrilege of connection of harlotry with music, religious worship and temples. Proper institution for virgins or widows suggested.

The institution of dancing girls in India is only an instance of the crystallization classes undergo in India. Prostitutes are not a monopoly of India, but what renders the institution so objectionable in India is the cruel custom that drives unmarried girls and women detected in sin into the most debasing of castes, its connection with temple, religious worship and with music, the noblest of arts, and their attendance at weddings and other festivals. There are yet people, who in their admiration for Hindu ethics and philosophy, are blind to

its gross sacrilege and cannot find a better institution for their virgins and widows. They cannot or will not appreciate the noble ideals Christianity-at least as it is practised by the majority-offers for the functions of woman outside as well as inside the domestic precincts. We must admit that European cities are not always models of perfection in respect of woman's virtue; this is not however the fault of Christianity, but the result of the over powering forces of bestialism that has its root in human nature. Christianity, both in theory and practice, has laid out lines of perfection for womanhood, which Hindus might well copy. I might well quote here what I wrote on this particular point when Sir Lepel Griffin in a lecture given in London attempted prove that Hindus had nothing to learn from Christianity:

From what we observe in Hindu society and read in Hindu shastras it would seem that woman is regarded by the Hindu as only fit to contribute to the pleasures of man, feed his children and clean his house, and on his death, to be burnt as *satti* on his funeral pyre, or to lead a life of abject misery, or to lead the life of a *murli* or dancing woman. Where is the high ethical creed in this? I must admit that a Hindu wife is a model as to loyalty to her husband. But are blind loyalty to her husband that leads her to his funeral pyre, or deep filial love—too often on account of her ignorance of no utility to her children—the only virtues for a woman? Does not Christianity teach, though in subordination to man, a higher and nobler sphere of virtue and usefulness in woman? I do not speak of the so-called "modern woman", that wants to throw off all trammels which her position as of the fairer and gentler sex imposes on her, but the high, noble, accomplished Christian lady, who, as a virgin, mother, or widow, conduces so much to domestic happiness and the education of children, and the alleviation of the miseries of suffering mankind! To verify my assertions a Hindu has only to visit Christian houses (of course not all of them are good models) and a hospital or asylum or convent where Sisters devote their lives to nursing the sick or the poor and to the education of children, while promoting their own spiritual welfare.

While a Hindu guards the purity of the women of his family within the household with such elaborate care, outside the household a woman is a degraded being. The noblest profession she can follow is to be a professional dancer, singer and courtesan. Her presence and the display of her talents is indispensable at a Hindu wedding or festival. In the decision in the case *Mathura Naikin versus Esu Naikin* (I. L. R. IV Bombay 545), Justice West observes: "Courtesans have, no doubt, been a recognized institution in India from very early times. It is plain, from the rules laid down by the Smritis as to substitutionary sons, that unchastity was, at the time of their composition, a very common venial offence ..... Without further proofs and illustrations, it may be said that harlotry was an occupation, of which the Hindu law took cognizance; and has been important enough in modern times to be made the subject of special rules in the Vyyahara Mayukha and the Vivada Chintamini." The Hindus attach especial sanctity to the precincts of their temples. But there are no where in the world such great haunts of vice as Hindu temples. The connexion of harlotry with temple worship and the temples are well known to all. They have not only the toleration

but the sanction of Hindu law and usage. The rights of succession and distribution of the property belonging to the corporation of the temple harlots have been recognized by the High Court of Madras. In Bombay in the case quoted the High Court however held:—"Although at one time in India the existence of companies of temple women may have been thought not so repugnant to the essential principles of the Vedic Code as to prevent their recognition as a source of law for themselves, it is not so at present. The whole constitution of the class of courtesans would, it is certain, be now regarded by the great mass of the Hindu community as essentially vicious." Probably Justice West meant the great mass of the *educated* Hindu community. My own information gathered in many parts of Southern and Western India points to the conclusion that the mass of the people cherish their ancient institution of temple harlotry as almost an essence of the worship of the gods. If education is opening the eyes of the Hindus to the gross sacrilege of the practice, it is surely due not to their better appreciation of the Vedic or Puranic literature of India, but to the influence of Western education. Now Europe owes its present enlightenment partly to the civilizations of ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome, and partly to Christianity. In ancient Egypt and Rome, however, the dedication of women to promiscuous licentiousness was not uncommon. Of the ancient nations it was only among the Jews that the purity of a virgin outside her home was respected with the most rigorous penalties inflicted on those who offended her chastity. The dedication of the Blessed Virgin Mary to a life of blessed sanctity in the Temple affords only one of many such instances. Christianity in confirming the old practice consecrated the life of a virgin into one of sublime sanctity and divine beauty, which belongs to no other spiritual life. A chaste and holy Tara painted so beautifully by Meadows Taylor in his famous Mahratta tale is rarely or never to be found worshipping as a *murti* in a Hindu temple, but Christian, especially Catholic, lands are teeming with hundreds of convents, in which thousands of holy virgins and widows consecrate themselves to a life of prayer, penance and work.

(2) *Sonars* or goldsmiths (population 11,526) classed mong *Panchals*, the five artisan castes. They call themselves Daivadnya Brahmans or astrologers, and divide themselves into five gotras or exogamous divisions, namely, *Vatsa*, *Kaudinya*, *Vishwamitra*, *Bharadvaj* and *Kaushika*. They eat no animal food except fish. They wear the sacred thread and claim to be Brahmans, but this status neither Brahmans nor any other caste concede to them. They thus stand secluded from all other higher castes with whom they do not eat and who will never eat food cooked by them. Except a few who worship Shiva, they are Vaishnavites having their Swami in the person of Vyasraj Swami, the head of the Vaishnavite monastery at Udipi. Girls are married before they are eleven. Widows are not allowed to remarry and are shaved. Except at Karwar and Goa where they have their own bhuts, they employ Havig or Karhade Brahmans as *purohits*. They eat no animal food except fish. They burn their dead.

(3) *Konkani Vanis*—(or traders) are subdivided into the following endogamous classes :—

Classes	Population in North Kanara	
	In 1881	in 1901
Bandekar Vanis (from Bande in Savantvadi)	477	656
Narvekar Vanis (from Narve in Goa)	322	
Pednekar Vanis (from Pedne in Goa)	202	not shown
Vaishya or Komte Vanis	527	2654
Bavkule Vanis	3,332	not shown

The total number of Bandekar or Narvekar Vanis is shown in the recent Census Report of Bombay as 3987, who are distributed as follows :—2903 in Belgaum, 656 in Kanara, 167 in Kolaba, 337 in Savantwadi. The Vaishya Vanis show themselves as follows—3,932 in Dharwar, 2,654 in Kanara, 710 in Bijapur. The Vaishya Vanis like the other above specified Vani castes hail from Goa, but while the Vaishya Vanis generally speak Kanarese alongside Konkani, the other classes speak generally Konkani. They are Smartas and owe allegiance to the Shringeri math, and employ Karhade, Havig and other Brahmans as priests. They must be distinguished from the Gujerat Vanis, with whom they have little in common except in their profession. They follow the customs of high caste Hindus as to marriage, adoption and other points. They eat animal food except pork and beef, and drink liquor, but their usual food is rice, vegetables and fish.

(4) *Sherogers* or Messengers (Pop. 30,700)—as given in the Census of 1881, being not separately classed in the recent Census)—are said to be a branch of Konkan Marathas bearing surnames Savant, Naik &c. Their family gods are Raulnath and others, whose shrines are in Goa. They are Smartas and employ Havig Brahmans as *purohits*. Girls are married before puberty and widow remarriage is forbidden. They burn their dead, except infants who are buried. They wear the sacred thread and claim to be Vaishyas by caste. They eat animal food except beef and pork.

(5) *Sutars* (Pop. 4,787)—are carpenters by profession and are included in the *Panchal* community, their family

gods being Shamba of Ratnagiri, Bhavani of Kholhapur, and Raulnath of Santode near Savantwadi. They employ Karhadi and Chitpavan Brahmans as their *purohits.* Girls are married before puberty and widows are not allowed to re-marry. They burn their dead. They eat animal food and drink liquor—but their usual diet consists of rice, vegetables and fish.

(6) *Konkani or Kale Kunbis.*—In the Bombay Gazetteer Kanara Volume Part I. p. 216, the Konkani Kunbis are given as numbering 14,812. This caste formed the Konkani cultivating class of Goa, many of whom have emigrated from that province to Kanara. Their language differs from that of what are called Konkani Marathas in the recent census, exactly on the same points on which it can be distinguished from Marathi or Konkan Marathi. For, it must be borne in mind that Konkani Marathi, though it differs from the Dekkhan Marathi in some respects, yet it is only a dialect of Marathi, while Konkani has a distinct individuality of its own. The Konkani Kunbis must be distinguished from the Arers or Are Marathas, who speak Kanarese and also from the Arer Kunbis and Jogi Kunbis who speak a corrupt Marathi and are found in South Kanara. The Konkani Kunbis of Kanara maintain intimate relations with the Goa Kunbis. They are divided into the following exogamous sects or *Kuls* having their special deities

Kuls	*Family deities*
Kajuvkar, Nandkar	Monai
Goirekar	Naiki
Samvarkar, Tirvalkars, Kumarkars, Nujekars, Dingakars, Mudekars, Kolalkars, Mainalkars, Irkolkars, Dondalkars	Bhutnath
Kumgalkars, Volkars, Patankars, Taraikars, Raikars	Ramling

The kuls correspond to surnames, which are derived from the villages in which they are settled. Persons of the same surname and family god do not intermarry. They appear to have once come under the influence of the Lingayat religion. Its hold must have however been very small on them, for they now acknowlege the Smarta guru of Shringeri as their head. They worship Basava or Nandi and also various Brahman gods. They marry their girls generally after puberty and allow their widows to re-marry. The essential part of the marriage ceremony consists in pouring water over joined hands of the couple (called *dhare* ceremony). They eat fish and flesh meat except beef and domesticated birds like fowls. The Kunbi settlements have each their *budvant*, and are grouped into circles called *Mahals* having each its head called *Mahal budvant* or *gauda* who owe allegiance to the gauda at Phondiya in Goa. They bury their dead.

(7) *Bhandaris* (pop. 11,536) called also *Madhars*, are palm-tappers or liquor distillers by hereditary profession, though they follow various professions as cart driving, coir-making, cultivating, etc. They eat animal food except beef and country pork. Girls are married before the age of twelve and boys before eighteen. Widows cannot remarry. Sexual license with Brahmans is tolerated as among the Nayars. They employ Havig or Karhade Brahmans as *purohits*. They burn their dead.

(8) *Konkani Kharvis* (pop. 6,317) are said to be a branch of the Cambay Kharvis (from *Khar* meaning salt). Their profession is that of fishermen and sailors. They are Smartas by religion, and worship the family gods Kantradevi and Baneshwar, whose shrines are at Aursa in the Ankola Taluka. They eat usually rice and fish, but have no objection to flesh meat except country pork and beef. Girls are married before the age of puberty and widow re-marriage is allowed.

(9) *Padtis* (Pop. 3,510)—are divided into two endogamous classes—Kanarese and Konkani Padtis, who neither intermarry nor dine together. The Konkani Padtis are labourers by profession, while the Kanarese Padtis earn their livelihood by making salt. They marry their girls between ten and twelve, but widow re-marriage is allowed.

(10) *Mahars or Hulsavars or Parvars* (Pop. 9,389) are regarded as an impure class. They bury their dead. Widow re-marriage is allowed, but the widow must find only a widower for her husband. The Konkani Mahars do not interdine and intermarry with the Maharasthra Mahars, and on the whole enjoy a higher social position in Kanara than the Mahars elsewhere. They are largely employed as labourers in playing kettle-drums, in plaiting bamboo mats or baskets. The following minor castes speaking Konkani are also found especially in Kanara:

	Castes.	*Population.* In Bombay Presidency.
(11)	Konkani Madivals (washermen).	2,000
(12)	Sudirs	1,626
(13)	Konkani Kumbars (potters).	198
(14)	Konkani Kolasis (barbers).	500
(15)	Satarkars (From Satari in Goa, a branch of Konkani Kumbar but a separate caste).	101
(16)	Guravs	41

The last have like the other Konkanis hailed from Goa. They are employed as temple servants. They rank next to Brahmans and follow the Brahman customs in regard to thread ceremony, marriage, death, etc.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ORIGIN OF THE KONKANI CHRISTIANS OF KANARA, MALABAR AND COORG.

There are found scattered in Western India from Karachi to Cape Comorin small communities of Hindus, Mussulmans and Christians, speaking the beautiful Konkani language or Goanese, which is closely allied to the Marathi and is a member of the Aryan family of languages. They were formerly confined to the province of South Konkan including the Portuguese territory of Goa, but since the 16th century colonies of them have settled in the districts of Kanara, Malabar and Ratnagiri, and in Cochin, Bombay and Karachi. Numbering about a million but scattered over a wide area, they are split up into several communities with little cohesion, and have done little to enrich their language with a literature. In this article I propose to trace the origin of the Konkani Christians of the districts of North Kanara, South Kanara, and Malabar (excluding Cochin and Travancore wherein few or no Konkani Christians reside) and the province of Coorg. They embrace the whole of the Roman Catholic population—about one lakh in number—of Kanara and Coorg and about two thousand of the same denomination in the Malabar district.

2. The Konkani Christians of Kanara, Coorg and Malabar have a particular claim on the interest of the historian of the rise and growth of the British Empire in Western India. Patronised by the Bednore kings and Hyder Ali, the Christians of Kanara had grown into a prosperous community. But hoping for little sympathy from the cruel Tiger of Mysore and well knowing of his design to forcibly convert them to Mahomedanism when a favorable opportunity offered itself, they gave no little assistance to the British in their campaigns against him from the West Coast. Tippu had secret information of the doings of the Christians—though much that was reported to him or he made out against them was exaggerated. The treaty of Mangalore was concluded between the British and Tippu in January 1784, and in February of the same year sealed orders were received from him in all stations

of Kanara to seize the Christians, confiscate their estates and deport them to Seringapatam. The orders were rigorously carried out. Of those that arrived in Seringapatam the majority were forcibly circumcised and distributed over the country in regiments. A very interesting piece of evidence has been revealed by the learned Editor of the *Mangalore Magazine* as regards the number of the Christians deported and the immediate cause of their deportation. We shall quote the words of the Editor himself—as the work he refers to is not in my hands :—

"Important evidence as to the exact number of Canara Christians carried into captivity to Seringapatam is furnished by one James Scurry, who published in London in 1824 an interesting account of his ten year's imprisonment in the dominions of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan. He sets the number at 30,000, which appears to be the nearest to the truth from what we know of the number of the Christians before their deportation, the losses through disease and hardship, and the number who returned to Canara in 1799. The same author blames himself as the innocent cause of the deportation of the Christians, for he was the one who read for Tippu's Killedare what was inscribed on the bottom of the four pewter plates of dishes by the ill-fated General Mathews before dying of the poison administered in Seringapatam. The purport of this writing was, that the General knew he was poisoned by order of Tippu; that he must submit to his fate; that he had borrowed 330,000 rupees from the Malabar (Canara) Christians for the support of his army since he left Bombay; closing with a sincere request that those who read what was written (or engraved rather, for it appeared to have been done with a fork or nail), and should be so fortunate as to reach any of the Presidencies, should make it known to the Governor and Council, when they would be amply rewarded. The author goes on to describe the dreadful mutilations inflicted on the Christians for their brave resistance to the officers who strove to carry off their daughters and sisters for Tippu's seraglio, and concludes with the following words: "No doubt, many of them survived the downfall of Tippu, and I should have been proud to hear that the Company had done something for those brave unfortunate men, and particularly so, as all their miseries originated from an English General." (1)

The amount of property confiscated from the Christians is estimated by Father Maffei at five lakhs of rupees. This seems to be very much below the mark, just as his estimate of the number carried into captivity seems to be above it. If the Christians were able to lend General Mathews Rs. 330,000 when he landed at Kundapur in his expedition against Bednore (Haidarnagar), they surely possessed more than double that amount in real estate and other property.

Not more than 15,000 of the expatriated Christians survived their dreadful exile of 15 years when Seringapatam fell in 1799. These wrecks of the once prosperous community were reorganised by the famous abbe Dubois at the request of General Wellesley. About one thousand of the Christians went to Malabar, some hundreds settled in Coorg, and about 10,000 returned to Kanara. The descendants of these consti-

(1) Page 147 of Vol. II. Easter number of 1902.

tute the present generation of the Konkani Catholics of Kanara, Malabar and Coorg. Many of them were restored the property which had been confiscated, but many could get nothing as they could give no evidence of what their fathers had owned. The churches destroyed under Tippu's orders were rebuilt by the Christians and were allowed the lands allotted to them by the Bednore chiefs and Hyder Ali or by pious Christians free of assessment. Submitting the petition of the Christians on the subject, the then Collector of Kanara, T. Harris wrote in 182 : " he question I have therefore to submit to the Board is whether the prayer should not be granted in consideration of the ruin so relentlessly brought down upon them, notwithstanding which they have re-built churches and voluntarily contributed to support them, they have raised themselves to a name unquestionably the most respectable in every situation in which they move in Kanara, whether as holding high public station as merchants, dealers, farmers or servants. There exists little doubt that this high moral, and as subjects, most useful attainment, proceeds from the religion they profess and examples held out to them by their pastors, so generally is their character admitted that I consider it would be improperly occupying the Board's time to dwell upon the theme." The Christians soon rose to a position of high influence, numbering in 1830 about 30,000 but became objects of unscrupulous persecution from the hands of the Brahman officials of the time in the Kanara Collector's office, who fanned the discontent of the ryots into serious riots and induced them to attribute in their complaints to Government their misery to the prepondering influence of the Christian officials in the district. Most of the Christians were dismissed from public services. Mr. J. Stokes, who was appointed by Government Commissioner to investigate the complaints, acquitted the Christians of all blame and expressed the opinion that for their population the Christians " had less than their fair proportion of the public appointments." Speaking in general of them he writes " The native Christians of Kanara are a very respectable class. Many of them are men of good family and considerable property. In natural acuteness they are fully equal to the Brahmans and they are superior to them in morals and enlightenment. They form a valuable connecting link between the Hindus and their Euro-

pean superiors. In language and local information they assimilate with the former, in religion and education with the latter. These two classes of servants do not readily combine for fraudulent purposes but act rather as a mutual check, and it is therefore of great importance that they should be intermixed." Referring to the Roman Catholics of Kanara in his *Manual of South Kanara* published in 1894, Mr Sturrock writes (1) "There is no walk of life in Kanara in which some members of the comparatively small Christian community have not come to the front rank and they form no small proportion of the most prominent officers in every branch of the public service, as well as at the bar and in the mercantile world."

The Konkani Christians are divided into castes (2) Bahmons (Brahmans), Chaddos, Sudirs, Madvals (washermen) Gavdis, Renders, Kumbars and other classes corresponding to the Hindu castes. Intermarriages between these castes are not forbidden but rarely, if at all, take place. No Konkani Christian would consider himself polluted by dining with a member of a lower caste; but members of different castes do not habitually meet for dining. The Konkani Christians bear names of Christian saints, Peter, John, &c., and Portuguese surnames Saldanha, Coelho, Monteiro, Vas and others—but the majority of the last generation were known by the Hindu surnames of Prabhu, Naik, Shet, Poi, Podval, Shenai, Bhat and Kamat. Many a Konkani Christian nowadays with his Portuguese surname is still further *Portuguised* with a Portuguese or European clothing but by far the majority of them yet adhere—both men and women—to the beautiful folds of the *dhotur* and *sadi*. They go to the church for receiving the sacrament of matrimony according to the solemn Christian ritual, but the ceremonies (3) connected with the *soirik* or betrothal, the erection of the wedding *mandap* or pandal, the dressing of the bride with the grand *sadi*, and the tying of the *tali* or *mangalsutra* or necklace round the bride's neck which can be removed only on the death of the husband, the *aver* or pre-

(1). *Vide* p. 83 of Mr. Sturrock's *Manual of South Kanara*, Vol. I.

(2). *Vide South Kanara Manual*, Vol. I, pp. 182—187. *Bombay Gazetteer, Kanara*, Vol. Part I, pp. 380—396.

(3). For an account of their marriage customs *vide Mangalore Magazine* Vol. I, p. 101. Christmas number of 1898, and *Bombay Gazetteer, Kanara Vol.* Part I, pp. 392—392.

sentation of gifts, the *opni* or the solemn delivery of the bride to the *ejman* or elder of the bridegroom, and many other wedding ceremonies take very much after Hindu ceremonies. Widow remarriage is not prohibited, but except among the lower classes is rarely known. Succession to deceased's estate was until the passing of the Indian Succession Act, regulated among the Konkani Catholics by the Hindu Law, and the provisions of the Succession Act are in practice evaded by testamentary succession. They have recently after persistent agitation obtained exemption from probate duties like their Hindu brethren. They have constantly urged before the Government and the Law Courts that though Christians by religion yet they are Hindus by race and custom. This happy mixture of Christian religion, European civilization and Hindu race and custom is a very interesting phedomenon. To trace its origin is the object of this article.

The Konkani Christians of Kanara and Malabar owe their existence to the Empire of the Portuguese which once held sway in the Eastern seas. The Ottoman Turks had in 1453 A. D. seized Constantinople and in a few years overrun South-western Europe, Syria and Egypt, and created powerful fleets which, on the one side, obtained full command over the Indian seas, and on the other threatened to subjugate the whole Mediterranean basin. But the wave of her conquests in the West was turned back by the victories of the combined fleets of Spain, Venice and other Italian states; while in the East a power, having its birth in the small kingdom in the extreme west of Europe, fresh from her victories in her crusades against the Moors that had established themselves in the Iberian Peninsula, turned their enterprise against the Mussalman dominion in the Eastern seas and turned the flank of Islam in its grapple with Christendom. One of the smallest and poorest of the kingdoms of Europe, Portugal, put forth energy and embarked on a maritime enterprise which seems really extraordinary. "The swift audacity of the hero nation" the late Sir William Hunter in the first volume of his *History of British India* truly observes "forms an epic compared with which our early labours are plain prose." Actuated by the spirit of the crusaders, the Portuguese pursued the Moors, (as they called all Mahomedans) and all who traded with them, with barbaric and relentless ferocity, established like the Phœnicians of old factories at every important port,

concluded treaties with native princes for securing the monopoly of the trade of their country from which they had strictly to exclude the Moors. The Portuguese cared little for territorial aggrandizement, but cared more to extend the empire of the Catholic religion. Wherever the Portuguese captain hoisted his national flag, the Portuguese priest planted the Cross of Christ. As the factory was being erected, there arose even in greater splendour the Catholic church. The factory and church soon became the nucleus of a Christian community. The Christian Missionaries pushed their conquests even beyond the limits of the factory into the interior of the country, and the Portuguese Government, wherever their influence reached, guaranteed the protection of the missions by a special clause in their treaties with the native princes. Here was an ambitious policy of a vast maritime and religious empire as opposed to a territorial as well as maritime and a non-religious but wholly commercial policy so successfully pursued by the British. The Portuguese policy doomed their empire to a premature decay and fall. For, with a maritime empire dispersed over wide seas, a small nation like Portugal could not maintain on the sea a fleet sufficient to defend her empire against her European rivals, especially the Dutch, her inveterate enemies, while on the land she found it impossible to maintain requisite armies to protect her numerous factories separated from one another by wide lands and seas against the attacks of native armies. And in carrying out her religious propaganda and chastising, with such ferocious cruelty the Moors and their friends, they raised a host of enemies among the native states.

It is unnecessary to give here a detailed account of the events that led to the Portuguese connection with Kanara and Malabar. Suffice it to mention that soon after the opening of the important factory at Cochin and the capture of Goa in 1510, the Portuguese established, in pursuance of their treaties with the chiefs of Sonda, the kings of Vijiyanagar, the Zamorin of Calicut and other local chiefs, factories at Honore, Barcelore, Mangalore, Cundanore, Tellichery and Calicut. Goa and Cochin sent forth missionaries, who carried on their religious propaganda not only within the factory towns, but far in the interior. There were soon created Christian settlements in these towns and in several places in the interior of the districts. Large numbers of Christians also left Goa during the trouble-

some days of Mahratta inroads in Goa and the decline of its trade, and settled in the coast towns. They were also welcomed by the Bednore Kings of Kanara (1565—1760) and made grants of land or recruited in their regiments. Thus it happened that by the middle of the 17th century Kanara was mapped out into some twenty-five parishes with large Christian congregations. That the Christians in Kanara must have about the commencement of the 18th century formed a large and important community is clear from the clauses guaranteeing their interests and found in the treaties concluded between the Portuguese and the Bednore kings in 1671, 1678, 1707, and 1714. The Bednore kings seem to have largely patronized their Christian subjects, and the grants they made to churches like the Milagres church at Mangalore testify to the respect the Christians commanded at the court of Bednore. Hyder Ali, who overthrew the Bednore dynasty in 1760, confirmed the privileges conferred by his predecessors, and the Christians reciprocated this sympathetic treatment with steadfast loyalty. How they fared under Tippu Sultan, their deportation to Seringapatam, and the return of a few exiles to Kanara, Malabar and Coorg, have already been referred to.

The success of the missionaries in the 16th, and 17th centuries not only in Goa and other territories under their political control, but even in provinces far beyond their sphere of influence was far more remarkable than under the British supremacy in India. The causes of this success are not far to seek. We need not dwell on the zeal of missionaries like St. Francis Xavier and St. John Brito, who defied death, the elements and wild beasts for their faith, their extraordinary mastery of vernacular languages that produced poets and authors like Nobile, Beschi and Stephens, their high scientific attainments, their self sacrifice in abandoning home and every thing dear to them, and identifying their interests with those of their converts, and their agricultural settlements and industrial establishments. What we wish to lay stress on here is the policy followed by these missionaries of toleration of Indian castes and customs and a strict regard to their caste prejudices so far as they were consistent with a practical Christianity. While not admitting the claims of the higher castes to the monopoly of the highest privileges of Heaven and earth, the Catholic Missions recognized caste distinctions which made in-

termarriage practically impossible between the castes, though not prohibited by religion, and interdining rare without the consequences of excommunication and penances when indulged in "Their priests and monks" as remarked in Hunter's *British Empire* " became perfect Indians in all secular matters, dress, food, etc., and had equal success among all castes, high and low." Toleration of caste distinctions and customs among the Konkani Christians on the West Coast must therefore be ascribed to the deliberate policy of tolerating them, followed by the Portuguese missionaries, and is not, as remarked in the recent exceedingly interesting Census Report of the Bombay Presidency, the result of the forced nature of the conversion of the castes brought under Portuguese rule. Whatever force was resorted to by the Portuguese within their territorial limits was confined [6] to the destruction of Hindu temples and prohibition of Hindu public worship, and did rarely or never extend to the curtailing of their other civil and religious liberties. In any case, force was by no means resorted to in Madura, Bijapur and other Indian kingdoms far outside the Portuguese sphere of influence, wherein the Catholic missionaries made thousands of converts.

In explaining the origin of the Christians of Kanara, the author of the Bombay Gazetteer [7] observes that the bulk of them are descendants of local converts. But it seems to me that this opinion is based on a misapprehension of facts, which go to show that they are the progeny of the colonists of Goan Christians that settled in Kanara and Malabar. It is an admitted fact that the sphere of the Konkani language before the advent of the Portuguese was confined to South Konkan, including the province of Goa under the Portuguese. Now if the Goan missionaries made converts of the Kanarese, Tulu, and Malayalam speaking people of Kanara and Malabar, they could surely not have imposed a language so little cultivated as Konkani on them, had they formed a large community. Islam, it is true, has spread Hindustani among its converts, but Hindustani is so extensively used in its liturgy and its schools that there was every facility for its

5. *Vide* the chapters on Christianity in India, and modern vernaculars (Tamil) by Hunter *Indian Empire*; Meadows Taylor's *The Noble Queen* (chapter III), and Fr. Whitehead's *Madura Mission* and Marshall's Christianity in Southern India.

6. History of Goa—by Fonseca.

spread. Konkani, on the contrary, was never the language resorted to by the Portuguese clergy in place of Latin for the liturgy of the church except for a few simple prayers and hymns and was never taught in schools. The universal use of Konkani by the Catholics of Kanara and by so many Catholics of Malabar, could only have been the result of large settlements of the Christians of Goa in the two districts. Tradition connects them with Goa—many of them being able even to trace the particular village in Goa from which their ancestors emigrated. There are not a few families in Kanara, who till recently received the *zone*, the hereditary right to village dues from Goa. Tradition and history in fact point to Goa as the home of the Konkani Christians of Kanara, Coorg and Malabar and of the Hindu Konkani communities found in British India.

There is another opinion expressed in the Bombay Gazetteer about the origin of the Konkani Christians, which requires an explanation. It is stated [8] by its author that "in the native Christian population of Kanara there is believed to be a strain of European blood passed down from the Portuguese who during the 16th and 17th centuries settled along the coast for trade and other purposes." The fact is that this strain of European blood may be traced only in a small minority of the people who form a distinct Indo-European, Indo-Portuguese, or Eurasian community. The members of this community in Malabar class themselves as Eurasians or Anglo-Indians (a now appellation by which some Eurasians call themselves). In North Kanara they go by the name of Portuguese In Goa they are the *mestiços* or *descendentes* (mixed class). Whether in Goa, Kanara, or Malabar they are the progeny of alliances [9] between Portuguese officers, soldiers and merchants and Indian women, which were authorized by the Portuguese Government and encouraged by the clergy, the women selected being generally of the higher castes. Considering the small number of Portuguese that settled in India, the number of such alliances must have been very small. The *Konkani Eurasians*, if I may call them so, have long ago adopted the European dress and customs a used to speak till lately (if they do not do now) a jargon of Portuguese side

8. Page 830, Part I, Kanara Vol.

9 Madras Government Museum Bolletin, Vol. II, No. 2 "Eurasians of Madras and Malabar."

by side with Konkani. Many of them, however, are pure Goan Roman Catholics, who have adopted the European garb and manners and are anxious to pass for Eurasians, as they are in fact in everything except blood. Apart from the Indo-Portuguese community, the progeny of alliances between the Portuguese and Indians who form a small minority, the Konkani Christians of Kanara, Malabar and Coorg may be said to be purely Indians, the majority of them differing little from their Hindu brethren except in religion and religious practices and in being divided into castes and wearing dress like the Hindus They bear, it is true, Portuguese surnames, which were given to their ancestors at the time of the Christening ceremony after the surnames of their god-parents. But until recently, most of them, and even now, not a few are known by their Hindu surnames. Hindus in race and secular customs, the mass of the Konkani Christians are Christians in religion and religious customs. To their ancestors, the Hindus, they owe the former, and for the latter, they are indebted to the Portuguese.

In the *History of the Diocese of Mangalore*, published in the Mangalore Magazine,[10] there is a reference made to a curious tradition among some local Christians regarding the origin of the Konkani Christians, namely that St. Francis Xavier separated the Konkani concubines from the Portuguese in Goa and had them deported to Kanara to remove both parties from the occasion of sin. There can be no doubt about this deportation to Kanara of Goan concubines, but they seem to me to have only swelled the number of the temple women called *Kalavantes*[11] or *Naikins* and other such classes that had emigrated to North Kanara on the destruction of Hindu temples by the Portuguese. Ankola, Karwar and other towns in North Kanara are remarkable as seats of a large number of fair and handsome *Naikins*, who trace their home to Goa and who now find their way in large numbers to Bombay.

Another tradition referred to in the *History of the Diocese of Mangalore*[12] is, that convicts of the Bijapur State, when it was under Goa, were sent first to Goa, and thence to Kanara as

10. Vol. II. p. 77.
11. For an account of classes *vide* pp. 321—326 and pp. 332—335 of *Bombay Gazetteer*, Part I. Kanara Vol.
12. Page 77, Vol. II. of the *Mangalore Magazine*.

to a kind of Botany Bay, and that the Konkani Christians are their descendants. As regards this question, the learned auther of the history observes: "It would be just as ridiculous to assert that the citizens of the new Commonwealth of Australia are descendants of the "Sydney Ducks" as to maintain that our Christians are the offspring of people who left Bijapur or Goa for their country's good." We may add the observation that the Bijapur State was never under Goa, and that if it is asserted that the convicted were sent to Kanara, when Goa was under the Bijapur Government, there is nothing to show that they were ever converted to Christianity. If these convicts became Christians—it is to be borne in mind that it is of the very essence of Christianity to seek within its fold the poor as well as the rich, the low as well as the high, and the sinner as well as the innocent, and to elevate them all into one united brotherhood. Christianity lays open whatever is best in heaven or earth to the ambition of all mankind without distinction of caste or race, and high or low—however it may tolerate caste or class distinctions for social purposes as a makeshift. In the Konkani Christians of Kanara, Malabar and Coorg, we find elements of all the high and low castes, that once constituted the society of Goa. To weld it into one united body, living in harmony and peace, and maintaining their noble traditions as true Christians, as evidenced by the high encomiums bestowed on them by James Scurry, T. Harris, J. Stokes, and Mr. Sturrock—referred to above—ought to be the earnest aim of every Konkani Catholic, bearing in mind the words of St. Paul:—

"But now lay you also away anger, indignation, malice, blasphemy, filthy speech out of your mouth. Lie not one to another; stripping yourselves of the old man with his deeds and putting on him, the new who is renewed with knowledge according to the image of him that created him, where there is neither Gentile nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free. But Christ is all and in all. Put ye on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, the bowels of mercy, benignity, humility, modesty, patience, bearing with one another and forgiving one another, if any have a complaint against another. Even as the Lord hath forgiven you, so you also. But above all things have charity, which is the bond of perfection."

CHAPTER V.

The Konkani Christians of the Bombay Presidency (excluding Kanara.)

THE GOANS.

Census of Native Roman Catholics in the Bombay Presidency.

The Konkani Christians of Kanara, Coorg and Malabar described in the last chapter may be said to be the earliest colony of Goan Christian immigrants in Indian territory outside the Portuguese province of Goa. In North Kanara alone [which district belongs to the Bombay Presidency], the colony of these Christians according to the recent census number not less than 15,000. Outside that district there are found in the Bombay Presidency about 25,000 Konkani Christians—all of course Roman Catholics. They are distributed as shown in the statement below as compared with the whole Native Roman Catholic population:—

Districts.	Native Catholics.	Konkani or Goanese speaking Catholics.
Northern Division.		
Ahmedabad	462	189
Broach	52	33
Kaira	867	27
Panch Mahals	25	12
Surat...	141	116
Thana...	28,453	2,540
Central Division.		
Ahmednagar	3,861	95
Khandesh	445	120
Nasik	722	81
Poona...	3,765	1,555
Satara...	221	140
Sholapur	211	63
Southern Division.		
Belgaum	4,978	2,039
Bijapur	396	9
Dharwar	2,671	1,300
Kanara	15,116	15,000
Kolaba	523	297
Ratnagiri	4,232	4,232
Sind.		
Karachi	2,546	2,500
Hyderabad	182	5
Shikarpur	56	9
Thar and Parkar	5	0
Upper Sind Frontier	2	20
	77,932	15,587
Bombay City	28,723	20,000
	106,655	35,587
Savantvadi	4,000	4,000
Other Native States...	1,000	1,000
Total	121,653	40,587

To the above number of 106,655 in the British territory of the Bombay Presidency, must be added the Christian population of 13,619 in the Thana District, which is described as "non-returned," for in the Thana District, apart from the specified Protestant denominations, there are practically no other non-Catholic Christian communities. The same may be said of a great majority of the unreturned Christians in the rest of the Presidency, 29,612; since, while every non-Catholic Christian knows the sect, to which he belongs, a great majority of the Rôman Catholics call themselves "*Christaum*" or "*Christis*," blissfully ignorant of the fact that they are called also Roman catholics, Catholics and even Romans. There was not probably rendered any organized assistance on the part of Roman Catholic clergy to the census authorities in returning the figures for their flocks. Had they done so, they should have found at least 20,000 more to their credit, and instead of a decrease of 10,195 in the number of 'Romans,' there would have been shown a clear accession of at least 10,000 to their ranks under a proud appellation.

Subdivisions of Native Catholics in Western India.

2. For the purposes of ethnography it is well to bear in mind that there are found in Western India the following distinct Catholic communities:—

(1) The Goan Christians called the *Portuguese, Indo-Portuguese or Goans*, who have settled mostly within the last one century in Bombay, Karachi, Poona, Ahmednagar, Belgaum and other places.

(2) The Konkani Christians of Kanara, Coorg and Malabar, called *Kanara Catholics or Mangaloreans*—from Mangalore, their principal centre.

(3) The Konkani christians of the Talukas in the district of Ratnageri and the Native state of Savantvadi, adjoining the province of Goa. They are descendants of immigrants from Goa and local converts made by Portuguese missionaries, and may be called *Konkan Catholics*.

(4) The native Roman Catholics of Bombay, Bassein and Salsette and the other parts of the Thana District called formerly like the Goans, *Portuguese* or *Indo-Portuguese* and now going by the name of *Bombay East Indians*. Their Vernacular is a dialect of Marathi.

(5) Portuguese converts of Cochin and Travancore called some times Coasters. Their vernacular is Malayalam which they speak side by side with Portuguese. They bear Portuguese surnames.

(6) New Marathi, Gujerati and Kanarese converts.

Konkan Catholics.

3. Of the Konkani Christians we have already described those of Kanara, Malabar and Coorg. The Christians of Ratnagiri and Savantvadi call themselves Christis and are known in those districts as Portuguese or Feringhis, but except in names and surnames, they have little of the Portuguese in them. They are divided into the castes of Kunbis, Bhandaris and Kolis. Most of them have taken to cultivation and breeding of ducks, turkeys, hens and pigs. On the whole they are a well-to-do and prosperous class, though education has made little advance amongst them.

The Goans and their caste system.

4. The Goans are called Portuguese, because all subjects of his Majesty the King of Portugal have long been enjoying the privileges of Portuguese citizens. They bear Portuguese surnames and a large majority of their males wear the European dress. Staunch Catholics, deeply loyal to Portugal, and much *Portuguised* in dress and manners, yet they preserve much of their Hindu ancestral customs and practices. They are divided into castes, which as described by a Hindu writer,* consist of Brahmans or Bahmons, Chardos, Sudirs, Atisudirs (lower sudirs). There are besides Renders, Midevals, Bhandaris and others. The leading castes among the Goans are the Bahmons and Chardós. The latter do not correspond exactly to

* History of Goa by Y. F. N. Danaita and R. G. Wagle.

any Hindu caste known by the name *chardós.* The word however is probably a corruption of the word '*Kshatriyas*,' *Chatri* or *Chetri*. There has been in Goa always a warrior or Kshatriya class, to which Fr. Thomas Stephens, the author of the *Purana* refers in his Latin letter * to his father, just like the Vanis and others of the Vaishya caste. Neither of these two castes had become extinct in India as the Hindu Puranas want us to believe, and historical evidence leads us to the inference that the Chardós caste is the lineal descendant of the Kshatriya or warrior caste of old Goa, as the Vanis are descended from the old Vaishyas and Bahmons from the old Brahmans, though none of these castes can, as we have shown before boast of pure Aryan blood. Whatever the origin of these castes be, the Christian Bahmons and Chardós have not much improved upon the relations, that existed among the ancient Brahmans and Kshatriyas. They are the two leading rival classes among the Goans, and as there is no likelihood of a new Parashuram rising among the Bahmons to wipe away their rivals from the face of the Earth, the only reasonable course left for both the classes is to shake their hands heartily and make one common cause in the interests of the community. "God is no respector of persons" and we are not aware that our neighbours regard us anything but Christians or Portuguese. The Goans have of late begun to see the folly of their squabbles, and it is pleasing to note that the attitude of the educated portion of the community is one of disgust at the abuses of the caste system among them. We shall quote here the views of a leading exponent of their views, the late Mr. Joseph da Silva, in his interesting and ably written pamphlet "*The Catholic Church in India*" published in 1885.

"The Goans are Portuguese forsooth!" But whence came their castes? The caste system is not quite of the same kind as among the pagans, I grant, nor so strict as among them. But will any Goan be prepared to maintain that what still remains of the caste system requires no reform? Why are there such animosities between the castes in Goa, that they are represented even in the Press? Why do not the castes intermarry? The little Goan colony in Kanara observes caste perhaps with much greater strictness than the mother country. Also among them widow remarriage, is as much condemned as among the pagans. As to infant marriage, it was probably the old missionaries who succeeded in reconciling us to just above the legal age of puberty. Besides these

* Referred to in the Essay on the Purana, Appendix II.

particular points how many other superstitious practices and beliefs are there not among the Goans, as well as among other Indian Catholics? The Inquisition of Goa drew up catalogue of a few of them in the last century. A much longer list could be drawn of such as exist even now; for surely in Goa the school master in not yet abroad.

It is a deplorable fact that is principally due to the clergy that Goa is indebted for the preservation of much that is objectionable in her caste system. The defenders of the policy of the old Jesuits in regard to this subject generally seem to take little notice of the consequence of that policy. While the Jesuits were maintaining before the Roman Curia that the caste system of India was a purely civil institution, it was in Goa *divesting itself of paganism only to put on Christianity*. For the exclusive priesthood of Brahmans, Goa came to have as exclusive religious orders, admitting to their profession only either one or the other of her two principal castes. There were religious orders, which admitted none but Brahmans, and there were religious orders also which admitted none but Chardos (the Kshatriyas of Goa).

Abolition of caste, a work of centuries.

5. The existence of the caste system among the Goans only illustrates the fact of the deep root it has taken into the social system of India. It is a necessary evil which cannot be got rid of before converting Indians to Christianity. It can be rooted out only gradually after centuries by bringing them under Christian democratising influences, as was the case with slavery and serfdom in Europe. Toleration of caste among converts, but subjecting it to the slow but sure melting power of the Christian religion and education, was the policy followed with great success by the Jesuit missionaries. But the abolition of their order in 1761, followed by the *laisez faire* policy of the clergy, that took their place, opened the flood gates to the corrupting influences of the caste system without the disciplinary control, the Christian religion. Thus we find among the descendants of the Portuguese converts "*a bundle of incongruities*" complained of by the above mentioned Goan writer.

The Goans, the Irish of India.

6 The Goans are rightly called the Irish of India. Like the Irish, they are imbued with a deep religious faith and loyalty to the Catholic Church. As the Irish have done in Australia and North America, the Goans have formed everywhere in India and Eastern Africa small settlements, which have become the nucleus of growing Christian communities with a Church and priest, shedding the light of Christianity without the assistance of any grand missionary enterprise.

The Irishman is unsurpassed in his sense of the humorous in the world around us, which does not forsake him even in his most despondent moments. The Goan humour is not so proverbially known as the Irish humour, but it is none the less lively and charming. The Irishman's artistic taste, which discloses so charmingly wherever opportunity is given to it to shine, the Goan displays remarkably in whatever profession he adopts. In music, painting, needle-work, carving, dancing and even in the culinary art, who can surpass a Goan? Like the Irish, the Goan has his good priest wherever he goes. His partiality to the pig and strong drinks is as excusable as that of the Irish. The Goans are poor like the Irish, but they have contributed to India, as the Irish to the British Empire, some of her greatest sons, whose names are household words among all classes of people. *

7. The much abused Goan has his draw-backs like the Irish. But these draw-backs are the result of his poverty, for which he is not responsible. The Goans are the wrecks of a fallen empire, and who is to blame if the Roman to-day is not the proud Roman of the days of Cæsar Augustus? With the fall of the Portuguese empire, the Goans, like the Irish, were also deprived of the benefits of the institutions which the self-sacrifice of the Jesuits and other religious orders had founded for their education both in fine and mechanical arts, and for providing them with work. Their magnificent colleges, schools, industrial establishments and agricultural settlements were condemned as obnoxious plans like prickly pear, as in France at present, and in their places were substituted state schools—which, without the invigorating life-blood supplied by a self-sacrificing and devoted religious clergy, became lifeless institutions, and which could not be maintained on the splendid scale the religious orders had done, without expending hundred times more money. It is curious to find now-a-days writers like Rev. Mr. Nairne in his work on the *History of the Konkan*,† shedding tears ever these sumptuous institutions, while we see that they are so closely copied by almost all Protestant missions in India, only with

The causes of Goan poverty.

* I may mention only the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha, Dr. Lisboa, Dr. da Gama.

† Vide Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I Part II.

this difference, that the religious orders sacrificed much of what was required for their private personal comforts for providing the country with magnificent churches, paintings, statuary, and for everything else, that could bring home to us what is sublime, beautiful and divine, thanks to their generosity in this respect, we behold with wonder in the "Rome of the East," as Goa is so aptly called, monuments of architecture and art, that are only surpassed by those of the Rome of the West. And thanks to the misdirected energy of the revolutionists, that swept away from Portuguese India the educational religious orders like the Jesuits, the Goans have to leave the shores of their country so poor and ill equipped, that it is no wonder that they have as a rule to throw in their lot so low. Their priests are well educated, but have little or no knowledge of English * and Indian Vernaculars except their own language, and they are so few in proportion to the flock committed to their charge and their duties are so many and multifarious, that surely they are not to blame for not doing more than they are capable and can be reasonably expected to do. We ought not to expect that a purely parochial clergy consisting of one or two priests for a flock one thousand in number, to do all the wonders necessary to raise the social and educational condition of the Goans. The institution in Portuguese India of religious orders for the purpose of education and missionary work therefore seems to us to be the only cheapest and efficient machinery for raising in our midst Indian missionaries of the type of Venerable Joseph Vas, martyrs like Saint Gonsalo Garcia, bishops like Mathew de Castro, Thomas de Castro and other great Indians, that were such a credit to the educational system pursued by the old Jesuits in Portuguese India. It is only such religious orders that can tap the world for men and money to provide the Goans with education as cheap as keeping with their wants. Short of the regular religious orders, let a number of young Goans bind themselves by vows of poverty and self-sacrifice—if not of celibacy—like the professors of the Fergusson College at Poona, and do what they have done in the educational interests of their community. The establishment of the Goan Union and the schemes it has laid

* It is said that in the Rachol Seminary one year is devoted to the study of English and another year to that of French. The result is that the priest knows only a little or nothing of each. Why not devote two years to English. and none to French, which is useless in India?

out in its programme are moves in the right direction. But the Goan Union cannot carry out its work without more men co-operating in its work with their advice, influence, and pecuniary aid.

Awake Goans!

8. To the Goans, as also to all Goan colonies in Kanara, Bombay, Karachi and elsewhere, it is of the highest importance to realize that besides poverty there are various other causes that, like the cancer, are corroding their body. The vice of drink, factiousness, petty jealousies, squables and bickerings, lack of noble ambition and want of co-operation—are evils that are retarding our progress to an extent which we hardly realize.

"We are become a reproach to our neighbours; a scorn and derision to them that are about us.

How long, O Lord, will thou be angry for ever: shall thy zeal be kindled like fire?

Remember not our former iniquities: let thy mercies speedily prevent us, for we are become exceedingly poor.

Help us, O Lord our Saviour, and for the Glory of thy name, O Lord, deliver us and forgive us our sins for thy name's sake.

Lest they should say among the Gentiles. Where is their God? And let Him be made known among the nations before our eyes."

Psalm LXXVIII.

But lamentations and prayers are not alone enough. We must be up and be doing. One of the more important steps that should be taken by us, is to form temperance associations or to engraft temperance schemes on our existing societies and confraternities. The opening of industrial schools and primary schools to teach English and vernacular languages in every parish, and improving the existing ones, are measures that have been too long delayed and we ought to earnestly set to work to carry them out. I should propose that every parishioner should be especially assessed a small fraction of an anna on every rupee of his income to provide the parish priests or fabricas or school committees with a school fund. But above all let us rise to a sense of our dignity as Christians, shake off the torpor that keeps us down so low, aim high and work to gain our aims honestly and diligently.

"Therefore let us not sleep as others do: but let us watch and be sober.

For they that sleep, sleep in the night, and they that are drunk, are drunk in the night.

But let us, who are of the day, be sober having the breast plate of faith and charity, and for a helmet the hope of salvation."

St. Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians, Ch. V.

CHAPTER VI.

KONKANI MUSSULMANS.

Konkani Mussalmans—Navayats or Navaits (po. 1273 in North Kanara) and Konkanis or Kufis.
Marathi Mussalmans—Daldis, Dhobis.
Malayalam Mussalmans—Mapillas.

The rise of the Mahomedanism in Western Asia and in Africa gave a great impulse to commercial intercourse between the Western Coast of India and Persia, Arabia and Egypt; and from the 7th to the 16th century, when the Portuguese became a great maritime power in the East, the monopoly of the trade was in the hands of the Arabs and Persians, who carried on trade with Western India. It was during this period that colonies of several Mahomedan communities, noted on the margin were planted on the Malabar, Kanara and Konkan Coasts. The immigration of the community of the *Navayats* had its origin, not in commercial enterprise, but in persecution in the country of their birth. In the early part of the 8th century the province of Iran was governed by a fierce Governor, Hujaj bin Yusaf, whose cruelties and crimes have made his name a synonym for what is wicked even among Mussalmans. This Governor directed his persecution especially against some respectable and opulent Mussalmans of the house of Hashem, and to escape his vengeance these Mussalmans took the desperate resolution of fleeing from the country, and assisted by the good offices of the inhabitants of Shoofa, they embarked with their slaves in ships, in which some of them sailed to the eastward of Cape Comorin in India and others to Kanara. The descendants of the former are called *Nubbies*, and whether from admixture with the Natives, as they assert, or from their origin as slaves, as the Navayats say, they have a rather darker complexion than the Navayats, who are very fair as a class. It is possible that on landing in India the latter intermarried with the natives of Goa or one of the adjoining districts, who are on the whole fairer than the people of Southern India, and this accounts perhaps for the fact that they entirely abandoned their native tongue and adopted the Konkani language. But they soon formed into a distinct community, avoiding intermarriage with other Indian commu-

nities and even other Mahomedans. Hence it is that the Navayats have preserved much of the original purity of blood and freshness of complexion of their Persian ancestors. It may have struck some that their features bear a remarkable resemblance to those of the Parsees. They are mostly found at Batkal in Honore Taluka and at Mangalore.

The Navayats are Sunnis of the Shafi sect. They are staunch Mussulmans and have a well equipped organization of Kazis, Mullahs and other officers. Every settlement has its mosque or mosques, there are also shrines of saints or Pirs at Batkal and Mangalore. The majority of the Navayats follow the profession of merchants, in cloth especially *sadies*. They speak Konkani with a large mixture of Kanarese words. Their tongue runs with a rapidity and noise, that makes them hardly intelligible. They do not intermarry with any other class of Mahomedans.

The *Konkanis* or *Kufis* appear, as their latter name signifies, to be immigrants, who fled from Kufa, to escape the ravages of the Karmalian insurgents in 923-926 A. D. and settled in Konkan. They seem to have largely intermarried with local Konkani women. They dress, both men and women, like the Hindus and have adopted many Hindu practices. In religion they are Sunnis of Shafi sect, with a tincture of local Hinduism. They are mostly found in the Ratnageri District (Rajapur Taluka) ; a few are found in North Kanara. They follow the perfession of sailors, land-holders and servants to Europeans Konkanis do not intermarry with other classes of Mahomedans, and such intermarriages are considered disgraceful. But of late there have been instances of intermarriages of the Konkanis with Moghuls, Arabs and Dakhnis.

Appendix I.

AN ALPHABET FOR KONKANI.

The question as to the alphabet in which the Konkani language should be written has recently been exciting considerable interest among Konkani-speaking people, and rightly so, for with the movement that is being so earnestly set on foot for the encouragement and promotion of Konkani literature, it is highly desirable, in order to make such literature accessible to all the classes of people who speak that tongue, that it should be written in characters which can be acquired ensily by at least a majority of the literate classes among them. There are four schemes, which have been proposed for providing our language with an alphabet, namely :—

1. to create a new alphabet,
2. to use the Kanarese characters,
3. to use the Devanagiri or Marathi characters,
4. to use the Roman characters.

2. The first scheme is put forward by those who in their patriotism, lament that our language can boast of no alphabet of its own and would therefore create a new alphabet for our tongue. To these gentlemen it should be a consolation to reflect that there are few languages which have an alphabet of their own. Even such widely spoken tongues as English, French, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese have no alphabets of their own and are written in Roman or Latin characters. A brand new alphabet, moreover, stands as little chance of being adopted by the Konkani people as a new language or custom invented by a single individual has of being adopted by people in general. The invention of an individual in the matter of language and custom, to gain a foot-hold, must be an improved combination of what had already existed from time immemorial after eliminating what had become antiquated or no longer agreeable to new tastes. The more or less slow process of evolution commends itself more to men here than the quicker process of revolution. This fact is exemplified by the slow evolution of all the alphabets of Europe, Persia, Arabia and India out of one original alphabet, viz., the

hieroglyphics of Egypt, in which each picture represented a single idea. It would appear, therefore, that the lamentations of those who grieve over the absence of an alphabet peculiar to Konkani are rather misplaced, and that the substitution of a new alphabet is not a practicable scheme. Partial success might with difficulty be obtained, but that would not be much of an advantage, for it would add one more to the number of alphabets in which our language is written, which would only make the present confusion worse confounded.

3. Proceeding now to the consideration of the other schemes, the main principle to guide us in the selection of the most appropriate alphabet for our language is that it must be one that is not only suitable for transliterating our words, but one which can be most conveniently adopted by all the Konkani people. It is not what is theoretically, but what is practically, the best we have to seek. Let us first of all see the exact position in which the several alphabets—the Canarese, the Devanagiri and the Roman - stand in relation to our language. This will be clear from the subjoined statement showing the communities by whom Konkani is spoken, their approximate number, the number of literates in each, and the number in each who are conversant with the Canarese, the Devanagiri and the Roman characters :—

COMMUNITIES AND THEIR NUMBER.	Literate classes.	Conversant with		
		the Canarese.	the Devanagiri	the Roman characters.
The Goan Christians, mostly in Goa and Bombay Presidency, Central Division, 400,000	40,000	.....	100	40,000
The Mangalore Christians, mostly in Kanara, 100,000	10,000	10,000	100	4,000
The Konkanis, the Sarasvats, and the Shenvis and other Hindus mostly in Kanara and Bombay 200,000	20,000	10,000	5,000	4,000
The Navaiyats and Dhaknis, mostly in Kanara and Ratnagiri, 10,000.....	1,000	100	100	100
TOTAL.....	54,000	13,100	1,200	44,100

From the above figures it will be seen that while the majority of the literate classes among the Konkani people can write the Roman characters, only about 13,000 are acquainted with the Canarese and a much smaller number with the Devanagiri characters. At the same time while the Canarese alphabet is hardly within the reach of the people in or north of Goa, the Devanagiri is hardly accessible to the people of Kanara. In these circumstances can we expect that those who are ignorant of either of the two alphabets just mentioned will care to acquire the other one simply for the sake of studying Konkani - a study which holds out no immediate material advantages, as does that of English for instance – unless there are some other more powerful incentives for learning either of those alphabets? On the other hand, with the rapid progress the English language is making in every part of India, the Roman alphabet is likewise coming within the reach of people of every shade of race, caste and religion. It would be, then, against the principle of economy of labour and time not to utilize for our tongue an alphabet which is equally accessible to all Konkani-speaking communities instead of transliterating our words in alphabets which, for all practical purposes, are as foreign to the majority of our people as Greek or Japanese.

4. There are, however, three arguments put forward in support of the Devanagiri alphabet which I shall try to briefly answer. First of all it is argued that Devanagiri is the alphabet, in which our ancestral language, Sanskrit was written, and is therefore more akin to us than any other alphabet. But the connection between alphabet and man is not the same as between language and man; for while language is the natural expression of our rational mind, alphabet is merely an artificial means of transcribing such expression by means of figures. This accounts for the facility with which the English and the Germans gave up their own alphabets for the Roman, while holding fast to their language. We gave up Devanagiri long ago; what practical advantage are we to derive by resuming it on a mere sentimental ground?

5. Another argument put forward by the pro-Devanagiri party is that the alphabet is numerically the most important in India, being used among about sixty millions, and that it

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bids fair to become the national alphabet of India. But it must be noted that it is not actually used by the majority of people in India, namely, 240 millions who use other alphabets as perfect as the Devanagiri, and who will never give them up even should any of the Devanagiri-using races, the Maharatta, for instance, one day become supreme in India in place of the English as some of our pro-Devanagiri party dream. The English, will leave us, if ever, only to make room for some other European nation, who use the Roman alphabet for writing their language. In fact the Roman alphabet has become, and will always remain, the common alphabet of the world, for it possesses the advantages of accessibility, universality, and internationality which belong to no other alphabet in the world. The Japanese Parliament has recently passed a bill enforcing the use of this alphabet for transliterating their language. And why should we not share its advantages along with so many civilized nations?

6. The third argument used in favour of the Devanagiri —as also the Kanarese— is that, possessing, as it does, letters to transcribe every possible sound in Konkani, it is a more complete and suitable alphabet than the Roman. I shall however explain how, by means of the addition of only a few dots and lines, some eminent authors like Lepsius have elaborated a highly scientific alphabet out of the Roman, suited for transliterating any language in the world. This alphabet can be mastered at a glance by anybody who can read the Roman characters and with much greater facility than the Kanarese or Davanagiri characters.

7. All the existing alphabets of the world originally consisted of pictures which represented objects or ideas: for instance, a small circle with a dot in the middle represented the sun, the light, or other kindred notion among the ancient Egyptians. Those pictures were afterwards gradually used to represent syllables and then, after a slow process of evolution, single sounds. As denoting sounds, in order to facilitate easy learning as well as quick writing, an alphabet should satisfy the following conditions:—

(*a*) it must possess letters to transliterate each and every single sound of the language;

(*b*) no sound must have more than one letter to denote it,

(*c*) not more than one letter should be used at a time to transliterate a single sound, and

(*d*) more sounds than one pronounced together should be represented by separate letters.

The Roman alphabet, as pronounced in Italy, its original home, and as elaborated by Lepsius, Sir William Hunter and other distinguished writers answers the above-mentioned tests as well as any other alphabet of the world. The following letters represent all the sounds in the Konkani language and are arranged on the Lepsius system of translitération.

ă (ătmo=soul),	a (aram=wire),	ā (ānj=angel),
i (tin=three),	i (it=manure),	
u (uzo=fire),	ù (ùt=rise),	
e (kelen=plantain),	é (tera=thirteen)	
ĕ (vĕta=goes),	ĕ (ĕk=one),	
o (moto=stout),	ŏ (mŏrn=death),	
ó (orómb=origin),	ó (mŏg=love),	
ŭ (beleñ=crop),		

CONSONANTS.

Gutturals—k,	kh,	g,	gh,		
Palatals—c,	ch,	j	jh		
(car=char=four)					
Linguals—ṭ,	ṭh,	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ	
(ùṭ=rise)		(laḍai=war)		(magṇe=prayer)	
Dentals—t,	th,	d,	dh	n	
(tin=three		(dak=grape)			
Labials—p,	ph,	b,	bh,	m	
Unclassified, y,	r,	l,	v,	s,	sh, z,
h,	l,	(balāk=child		f,	x.

8. It may be objected that the alphabet here drawn up is defective as compared with the Devanagiri or Canarese in that it contains no single letters to represent.

(1) the sounds *ei* and *ou*,

(2) the aspirated sounds of the consonants *k*, *g*, etc. *i. e.* the sounds *kh*, *gh*, etc.

(3) the nasals of *k* and *g*, *c* and *j*,

(4) the vocalized *r* and *l*.

As to the sounds mentioned under (1), (2) and (3) it would seem that they are double sounds pronounced together and that it is rather an advantage than otherwise to have them separately transliterated. The vocalised sounds of *r*

and *l* do not appear to exist in Konkani, but if they do exist they could be denoted by the same letters with a stroke over them thus *r'*. *é*. We have no reason to feel ashamed of making use of strokes and other such means to modify the letters of Roman alphabet for the purpose of transliteration, since a large number of letters in the Devanagiri alphabet itself are formed by means of additions of tails, strokes, dots, etc. to a few original letters.

9. Even admitting the few apparent defects of the Roman alphabet as modified above the universal use of that alphabet by so many civilised nations and its greater accessibility to all Konkani-speaking communities than the Devanagiri alphabet, render it a more convenient and suitable means for transliterating the sounds of our language than any other alphabet.

10. To those who think that too many accented letters create more confusion than clearness, we should suggest the use of the simpler Hunterian system so much in vogue in India.

11. In conclusion we appeal to all sympathising with the movement for cultivating our tongue to use their best endeavours to induce all the publishers of Konkani books, journals, and newspapers to adopt one uniform system in printing them like the one we have proposed.

THE CHRISTIAN PURAN

OF

FATHER THOMAS STEPHENS,

THE FIRST ENGLISHMAN IN INDIA.

Appendix II.

The brilliant age of the great Queen Elizabeth of England produced not only the greatest of poets in the English language but the greatest English poet in a foreign language. This great man was the first Englishman that came to India, the first Englishman that settled in India and the first Englishman that wrote in an Indian language. Yet his name and works are as little known as those of the most obscure of the world's authors. For how few of us have heared of Father Thomas Stephens of the Society of Jesus and of his noble work the *Puran*, a metrical composition covering over 11,000 slokas or strophes and giving us a connected account of the rise of the most powerful of the world's religions, namely, Christianity, and a lucid exposition of its sublime mysteries and truths! Very little in fact has been recorded of the life of Father Stephens, a privilege which he shares with his great contemporary Shakespeare. From the accounts given in Dodd's *Church History* (Vol. II, page 133), Sir Monier William's article "*Facts of Indian Progress*" published in the *Contemporary Review* and Fr. Denis Fernandes' article, *The First Englishman in India*, published in the *Mangalore Magazine*, Vol. I. pp. 77 & 166, we have gathered the meagre details of his life given below.

Fr. Stephens was born at Bulstan in the diocese of Salisbury about the year 1549 and was at an early age associated with his father in his mercantile business in London. Later on we find him as a student in the new College at Oxford, banding himself with several distinguished Roman Catholics of the period, Edmund Campion and others, who boldly defied the anti-Catholic laws of Queen Elizabeth and many of whom were afterwards put to death. This association brought him into contact with Thomas Pounde, at first one of the Queen's greatest favourites, but who afterwards shook off the charming

influence of his worldly sovereign to pursue a religious life. Stephens became the devoted friend of Pounde and to escape the vigilance of their persecutors they travelled from place to place, the latter as master and the former as servant. Pounde was at last detected in 1575 and thrown into prison, in which he languished for 30 long years amidst the severest privations and sufferings. Stephens luckily escaped to Rome, where he joined the Society of Jesus. His zeal for the conversion of India was rewarded with his election as a missionary to proceed to Goa. He left Lisbon in April in 1579 and arrived at Goa in October of the same year. On his arrival at Goa he wrote a description of the departure from Lisbon, the long tedious but interesting voyage and his first impressions of India in a letter addressed to his father which, it appears, is still preserved in the national Library at Brussels, and is printed in the Hakluyt's *Collection of Voyages*.

This and other letters, which Fr. Stephens wrote to his father from Goa must have roused considerable interest in England about the prospects of trade with the Far East. His father was apparently a leading London merchant at the time and in the absence of newspapers and other news agencies of our time, his communications were, it is believed, read with great eagerness and thus was laid the foundation of those ambitious projects of trade with India, which bore their fruit in the formation of the East India Company and other such trading associations. Fr. Stephens may be said to be therefore not only the first Englishman that came to India, but the pioneer of the vast British Indian Empire.

Of the early years of Fr. Stephen's life in India we get a glimpse from his Latin letter dated 24th October 1583 to his brother Dr. Richard Stephens, Doctor of Theology, in Paris. He was attacked by a serious illness the first year of his arrival. Soon after his recovery owing to the vast harvest and the extreme fewness of labourers, he was advanced to the Holy Orders. After this he was sent to the peninsula of Salsette to help the Christians lately converted. Fr. Stephen's letter refers to the dangers that threatened the mission from the hatred and conspiracies of the Hindus, many of whom were of a warlike character and sworn enemies of the Portuguese name. Then follows an account

of the martyrdom suffered by Father Rudulf Acquaviva, the Jesuit, who was sent to the Court of the Great Mogul, and four other Jesuits. As Providence would have it, Fr. Stephens was spared the fate of Fr. Rudulf and his companions, and laboured in consolidating Christianity in the peninsula of Salsette until his death in 1619, at the ripe age of 70, honoured by all as an apostle, saint and great literary man. From the vivid and sympathetic description of his surroundings contained in his letter to his brother, it would seem that the beautiful cocoanut groves, the intelligent and zealous Brahman and other high caste converts, their languages, the bright sunny climate of Goa, had for him great charms, which no doubt contributed to make his work of 40 long years in India a labour of love. Amidst these charming surroundings, Fr. Stephens, popularly known as Padre Estavam, Baston or Bastyaum, made himself quite at home pursuing his ceaseless toil of a missionary zealously, noiselessly and silently. He acquired a complete mastery of Sanscrit and the local vernaculars Marathi and Konkani and composed several works in the vernaculars and in Portuguese, for the benefit of missionaries and converts. Of his compositions there remain to us only his Konkani *Catechism* of the Christian doctrine, the *Grammar* in Portuguese of the Konkani language, the first grammar of an Indian language by an European, and the great *Puran*, the subject of the essay. The Puran may be briefly described to be a metrical version in the Marathi-Konkani dialect of Western India of the Christian Sacred Scriptures, divided into two parts *Paillea Puran* or the First Puran, corresponding to the old Testament and consisting of 36 *auasars* or cantos and *Dussrea Puran* or Second Puran, corresponding to the New Testament and consisting of 59 cantos : the whole covers 11,018 slokas or strophes of 4 lines each. The first edition was printed and published in 1616 under the title of "*Discurso sobre a vinda de Jesu Christo, nosso Salvador ao mundo*," meaning *Discourse on the Coming of Jesus Christ our Saviour into this world.* Two other editions were issued in 1649 and 1654 under the title of *Purana*. Only about a dozen copies of this Puran are existing in Kanara, and a few in Goa, but they are all in manuscript, generally written in a beautiful hand and with extreme care, like the Bible in Europe in the middle age. No printed copy however has been found anywhere

so far as I know. In imitation of Fr. Stephen's *Puran* there was composed by Fr. Francis Vas Guimarães in a dialect of Marathi, which is prevalent in the islands of Bassein and Salsette near Bombay, a book called *Puran*, containing a metrical account of the birth, passion, death, resurrection and the ascension of Our Lord. This book was last printed at Bombay in 1857. In the introduction to this edition there is a reference made to an edition printed in Lisbon in 1659. If a mere adaptation of the original Puran of Fr. Stephens has been reprinted, it is highly desirable that his great work should be republished. Fr. Stephen's book was once highly popular as is clear from the fact that until within the last quarter of a century, it was read among the Konkani Christians of Kanara on Sundays in the church, especially in Lent, at funerals and at especial periodical gatherings of the people. It is said that almost every leading family of Kanara Christians had its *Puran* before their captivity to Seringapatam, that they were all manuscripts, and that Tippu had most of them destroyed. The few copies that are now left or copies made of them are regarded as family heir looms, which nothing can induce their owners to part with.

The alphabet used by Fr. Stephens is Roman, with the following peculiarities:

a stands far *á* as in *father*

a stands for *a* pronounced like *u* in *but*

The vowels accented are nasalized vocalic sounds.

As a rule a vowel at the end of a word following a consonant is not pronounced at all, or is pronounced as a half sound.

u, *v* } used indiscriminately.

v occurs generally at the commencement of a word.

t, *d*, *l*, *m* } when single stands for dentals and when doubled for their linguals.

x stands for *ks*.

The language in which the *Puran* is written is thus described by the poet himself in the first chapter of the *Pailla Puran*:—

Parama xastra zagui praghattvea
Bahuta zana phalla sidhy houaveá
Bhassa bandoni *Maratthiyâ*
Catha niropily.

The poet then sings a beautiful praise of the Marathi language. We shall quote only one sloka:—

Zaissy puspa mazi puspa mogari
Qui parimala mazi casturi
Taissy bhassa mazi saziry Maratthiya.

We have here the authority of the author of the *Puran* himself to show that the language selected by him for writing the book is Marathi, as distinguished from Konkani, which he in his Grammar and Catechism calls *Brahman-Canarin*. Konkani is a tongue, which is distinct from Marathi, though both are so closely related to one another that they stand in the light of twin sisters. The language of the *Puran* differs from Konkani generally in exactly the same points in which Marathi differs from Konkani. Take for instance the following words and suffixes in both the languages:—

Konkani	*Marathi*
áhum (I)	mi
khai (where)	kute
dovar (keep)	tev
apai (call)	bulav
lagi (near)	zaval
jai (must—termination as in Karijai)	va (as in karava)
ka (dative termination—as in maka = to me)	la or si
taã (suffix of present tense, first person)	toñ

In place of these and other peculiar Konkani expressions and terminations, we find in the *Puran* the Marathi peculiarities. I must therefore classify the language of the Puran as Marathi, and I do not think that it is Konkani, as the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha holds in his essay on the *Konkani Language*

and Literature. At the same time it must be admitted that there is in the language of the book a fair mixture of the popular Konkani used in Goa, an admission which its author makes in the last chapter. In fact it may be said that while the texture of the poem is in Marathi, it has received a colouring from the local language, Konkani. The author evidently aimed at appealing to a larger circle of readers than the Konkani people, for as in these days Marathi was in his times spoken by a people at least ten times more numerous than the Konkani speaking communities.

It must not moreover be supposed that the language used by Fr. Stephens is the old Konkani of the 17th century. The Konkani of the period does not differ essentially from the modern Konkani, as is clear from the fact that the Sashtikar Brahmans, who emigrated from Goa in the 16th century and settled in Cochin remaining for over two centuries practically separated from the mainstock in Goa and Kanara, still speak a language which hardly differs from the Konkani language of their fellow caste people; while it differs in exactly the same points from the language of the Puran and the Marathi tongue as noted above. We have moreover Konkani documents of the 17th century, which point to a similar difference between Marathi and Konkani. Let us take for instance the following extract of a sermon delivered by Fr. Miguel de Almeida in the 17th century in the church of St. Lawrence at Arossim on the text—*Si quis mihi ministraverit honorificabit eum Pater meus* — Christu *amacho* Taracu samesta bhaurthiã Christãnã *laguy vlannu* aisse mhannata, zo mazi seua bhagti carita, zo Devache xastra sumurti sambhallita, *taca mazo* anadhisidhu suarghincho Bapu manupado pauaita." In this passage the words and suffixes underlined show the Konkani peculiarities, which exist even now.

The result of building up this grand structure of the Puran with the frame-work of the more widely spoken Marathi, but with the embellishments of the local vernacular Konkani, is that the book may be easily understood with a few annotations by the Konkani speaking people, for whom it was primarily meant, while its use may be extended to wider circle of readers among the Marathi speaking communities. The book is in fact the Christian *Puran* of the Maharasthra country.

The language of the Puran borrows, however, largely from the inexhaustible resources of Sanscrit for purposes of expressing abstract notions of the Christian religion, just as English has had resource to Latin and Greek for the same purpose. Except a few expressions like "*Patriarcha*" "*Prophetu*" "*Spiritu,*" which Fr. Stephens had to borrow from the Western language to express the popular Christian ideas, the magnificent wealth of the Sanscrit language lends itself beautifully to give correct shape and form to every possible and subtle idea and shades of ideas of the profound Christian theology and mysticism and the lofty Christian ethics. Thus in the Puran, the sublime truths and mysteries of the Christian religion clothed in the rich and brilliant imagery of the sanscritized Marathi appeal with an effect to the Indian imagination, which no work in an European language can do. We have only to read the first verses of the poem, which is a hymn in praise of the Almighty and His attributes :—

Vo namo visua bharita
Deva Bapa sarua samaratha
Paramesuara sateuanta
Suarga prathnuichea rachnnaro.

Tu ridhy sidhicha datarn
Orupa nidhy carunnacaru
Tu sarua suqhacha sagharu,
Adi antu natode.

Tu parama anadu sarua suarupu
Visua veapocu gueana dipu
Tu sarua gunne nirlepu
Nirmallu niruicaru suamiya

Tu adrustu Tu avectu
Sama dayallu sarua praptu
Sarua gueanu sarua nitinantu
Yecuchi Deuo tu.

Tu savheata Paramesuaru
Anadhassidu apramparu
Adi anadi auinassu amaru
Tuze stava tirloqui,

Suargu srustti tua hella matre
Quela chandru suryu naqhetre
Tuze yeque sabde paptre
Quely sarua rachauna.

Tu anny tuza yecuchi putu
Anny Spiritu Santu
Tegai zanna yecuchi satevantu
Deuo zannava.

Fr. Stephens selects poetry in preference to prose as the best medium for popularising Christian truths, since most of the religious compositions of the Hindus are written in verse and the Hindu mind is more attuned to poetry than prose. Verse by itself constitutes a source of peculiar pleasure. The regular recurrence of sounds and accents, the regular march of lines and the euphony of sounds, are calculated to please us like the march at drill of a well disciplined regiment. They produce as it were a music of words, which delights the fancy and arrests our attention to each component part of composition, which prose only of the highly finished musical style like that of Newman can succeed in doing to a limited extent. Poetry thus fixes itself upon our mind with greater effect than prose and is better calculated than prose to bring home to us the eternal verities of our existence. It is for this reason that the religious literature of the Hindus has such a deep hold upon their mind more than for its intrinsic merits. Fr. Stephens saw therefore the greater utility of a metrical version of the Holy Scriptures than of literal translation of it in the vernacular prose. That he was fully justified in his undertaking is proved by the fact that until the inrush of the modern English education, the Puran had a greater hold on the minds of our ancestors, the Konkani Christians, than the Holy Bible could have on any Christian community. In the *Puran* it is not merely the rhythm that captivates but the supremely happy combination of sounds and euphony of words that the poet commands has a magical effect upon the ear that few other poems can produce. *Poeta natus, non fit.* Fr. Stephens was a born poet and his complete mastery of the language enabled him to produce a music of words of surpassing beauty.

The metre employed by the poet is that of *Ovi*, which consists generally of four lines, the first three of which consist generally of four feet measured by quantity (not accent) and rhyme with one another, while the last varies from two to

three feet and does not rhyme with the other lines. This metre is peculiarly suited for narrative poetry and is happily employed in the narration of the grand history of the rise of the Christian religion.

The Puran as I have described above, is a metrical version of the old and new Testaments of Holy Bible. But it is more than this. It is a noble piece of art, in which every part blends with the other into one harmonious whole. In this poem all the various and complex events of the old Testament narrated in the Holy Scriptures are handed down by tradition, connected with the creation of the angels, the rebellion of their prince Satan and his party, their expulsion from Heaven, the creation of the first man and woman, their fall, the career of mankind until the Deluge, the survival of Noah and his family, the election of Abraham and his progeny the Israelites to preserve primitive revelation and worship of the one Almighty Creator and Preserver of the Universe, and their successful struggle for centuries to justify their election amidst the deluge of pantheism, polytheism and idolatry that had spread over the world—are all carefully linked together with the events of the new Testament, the births of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John Baptist, the Incarnation of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity, the birth, life, sacred ministry, death and resurrection of our Lord, into one grand sublime action under one single idea, namely, the redemption of mankind from the yoke of Satan and the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven by the atonement offered by the "Word made Flesh." It is this, which lends such charm to the noble work of Fr. Stephens, the unity of action amidst the variety of events, so that every part of the poem is pervaded by one single idea by a chain of cause and effect, every character playing his part in the grand drama of *Paradise-Lost-Regained* in harmonious relation with the Hero of the poem our Divine Lord. It is for this reason that

the poem was originally called *Discourse on the Coming of Jesus Christ our Saviour into the world.* The poet indicates the main idea of the plot in these words :—

Caisse vaincutta quele Deue
Jea mazi asanqha bhodduve
Caisse rachili Adao Eve
Adi purussanthe

Teav pari cae vartale
Vdandda bhodduue goruica zahale
Papacha ddohi buddale
Deuachara houni

Anny adi purussu honta rachila
To deuachare tthacauila
Maha dossi paddauila
Maga cae zahale

Tea dossa carauea sauharu
Phudda mi saussari yenaru
Aissy bhaqha denta honta saruesuaru
Visua zanathe

Te yenne Deue sangata
Patriarcu anny Propheta
Sausaru rachila tethoni bhagta
Praghata quele

Yetuque tea Prophetani
Pauitra pustaqui lihuni
Dauile praghatta caruni
Zagatra zanathe.

The underlying idea of the poem is the same as that, on which the English epic poem Milton's *Paradise Regained* is built. But while Milton utilizes the episode of the victory of Christ over Satan's wiles as the leading event that led to the re-establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven, Fr. Stephens makes the crowning events of the life of our Lord on earth, His passion and death as marking the final and most decisive victory of our Lord. For then, Satan gathered all the forces at his disposal, the hatred of the Jewish nation, the infidelity of King Herod, the craven cowardliness of the Roman Governor and the weakness of the apostles to crush our Lord. In this final campaign Satan apparently wins. But it was this very passion and death of Jesus, "the precious blood of Christ as of

a lamb unspotted and undefiled," glorified by his resurrection that saves mankind from the thraldom of Satan and wins us back the supernatural privileges lost by the disobedience of the first man.

It must not be supposed that every part of the old Testament of the Holy Scripture is brought out in the Puran. Keeping with the theme of the poem, the poet weaves together only the principal characters and events of the old Testament, such as are connected by a chain of cause and effect with the coming of Christ the Saviour, and pave the way to the establishment of His Kingdom or prefigure his coming and empire. The poet for instance dwells with deep pathos and at much length on the life of Abraham, his devotion to the service and worship of one God, when the world around him was sunk in idolatry or nature worship, his complete self-abnegation that goes to the length of offering to sacrifice his only son in obedience to the command of Heaven and the election of his progeny to preserve the worship of God. The noble character of Abraham, with his deep filial love, drowned in his divine love, is described with touches worthy of the grand ancestor of the great Israelite race, that has played and still plays such an important part in the progress of the civilization of mankind.

After bringing out the principal episodes of the history of the Jews, the poet concentrates his admirable powers of narration in describing how "when the fullness of time was come God sent his only son made of a woman, made under the law that he might redeem them who were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons." The most beautiful and sublime portion of the *Puran* is naturally the Incarnation of the Godhead as man. I cannot do justice in a short essay like this to the transcendent skill and the beautiful art, with which the poet describes the chaste, pure and spotless Virgin engaged in communion with her maker, the train of ideas into which her soul is carried by thoughts of the future Redeemer of mankind, her surprise on being suddenly visited by the angel and addressed :—

Mhamnne namo crupa bharity
Tuze thai ahe vaincuttha haty
Tu Saidaiui bhagevanty
Striya mazi.

that is "Hail! full of grace, the Lord of Heaven is with thee, blessed art thou among women," her anxious doubts at this strange salutation, the angel's explanation of his mission, and her final consent to be the mother of our Lord by giving up herself to God as His hand maid-*charandasi*.

The scriptural account is extremely meagre in respect of many important events of the life of our Lord. Its omissions are supplied in the *Puran* by traditional accounts of history, which may be none the less true though they are not mentioned in the Scriptures, and must be believed just as the existence of many historical events that are not recorded in them. In the Puran, therefore, the traditions about the nativity of our Lady, and her life in the Sanctuary find a right place for the purpose of completing the chain of events in the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. The poet moreover rightly exercises his freedom in intermingling the narration of events with hymns and lamentations, which though not existing in the Scriptures, the poet in his fancy correctly puts in the mouth of the persons that play their part in the drama. For instance he makes the Angels sing a hymn of surpassing beauty at the nativity of our Lord:—

Ze ze ze.Jesu ballaca
Namo tuza visua taraca
Namo vaincutta nayeca
Suarguicha Raya

Thoriu anny suamitua panna
Tuze pauadde vttama para yenna
Varnu suamiya tuze gunna
Quirtiuanta baraue

Suamy tu gottheantu lahanu
Para vaincutta Sahhe gahanu
Gavanitu suttala sanu
Suargni pracasse tharu

Triloqui tuza carity prannipata
Ddimbiya ghaloni samasta
Suargui Saunssari assaucheata
Anni yemaconddi

Tu Deuapanni anatu avectu
Manuxe panni zahala vectu
Tuze razetua vre aqhandditu
Acassi chandru sare Ueri.

Another instance of the freedom exercised by the author is the account of the passion of Jesus Christ, in which we find some details borrowed from tradition. The sufferings of Jesus are moreover described with touches of profound pathos, which does not rightly find a place in the bare and simple account of the Holy Scriptures ; and when after the death of our Lord, his sacred body is lowered from the cross, his blessed mother, her heart pierced with a sword, as prophesied before—gives vent to her grief in a lamentation, which is most heart-rending and must touch the most obdurate heart :—

Catta Catta mazea cumara
Mea tuza surupa didhala nara
Tehi maza ausara
Paratila carupu.

Mea zivantu didhala teassi
Yeri mrutiv vopila mazassi
Mea didhala teya bhuzaneyassi
Niuaranu vignê.

Panna tahi maza quela ghatu
Maze vari rachila acantu
Tuza maruni caddila samastu
Anandu maza.

We shall forbear quoting more of this touching lamentation and leave it to be read to realize how the depth of the grief of the wounded heart of the mother proves the unfathomable infinite love, which led her beloved Son to self immolate himself on the disgraceful cross and to shed for us the last drop of his blood in order to atone for our sins.

The *Puran* is not only a narrative of events and description of characters. It contains also a complete exposition of the mysteries and truths of the Christian religion. The attributes of God, the mysteries of the Holy Trinity and Incarnation, the apparent inconsistency of the existence of evil and suffering with the divine mercy and justice, the purposes of chastisements and sufferings in this world, the Christian *Bhakti*, that intimate union of the human soul with God by complete self-abnegation, self-sacrifice and love and in fact

every other point of the Christian doctrine, that would occur in a controversy between a Hindu and Christian, are explained with masterly skill, and in language as lucid as sublime.

Fr. Stephens' *Puran* thus consists of a complete and connected metrical narrative of the rise of Christianity, in other words, an account of the *Paradise-Lost-Regained*, based on historical sequence of events focussing round the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the hero of the poem—with an exhaustive and clear exposition of his doctrines—written in lofty style and charming language. Free from the gross and disgusting sensuous pictures, grotesque imagery, absurd puerilities and marvels, with which the Hindu *puranas* are replete, the Christian *Puran* is true to nature and facts, but carries us aloft into the lofty atmosphere of the sublime and divine, giving us a taste of the bliss of Heaven to be won only by self-abnegation and love through the merit of the blood shed for us by Christ. Fr. Stephens' Puran thus occupies an unique place in the literatures of world's languages. Its publication and translation in other languages would supply the great desideratum of a complete connected history of the rise of Christianity and exposition of its doctrines in attractive style, that can appeal to the imagination as well as reason of both Christians and non-Christians. To the Konkani Christians it would moreover be of invaluable benefit in invigorating and improving their decaying language.

Appendix III.

Fusion and Fission.

There are two tendencies at work among the Konkani castes—one towards *Fusion* of the sub-castes, and the other towards *Fission* or the splitting up of a caste into further endogamous divisions. As an instance of the former the *ryce* or proclamation issued by the Vaishnavite Swami of the Gaud Saraswat referred to on page 60 *ante* in dealing with the Bardeshkars is in point, and the following translation of it will be found interesting :—

"We, Shrimat Paramahansa Shripada's disciple Shrimat Indira Kant Swami send our blessings and good wishes, with the Almighty's remembrance to our disciples Messrs. Purushotam Ramkrishna Prabhu Shinari, Yeshwant Narayen Dhond, Anant Vishram Prabhu Nachinolker, Yeshwant Subba Prabhu Shinari, Sakharam Govind Prabhu Shinari, residents of Rayabandar, Goa, and Gaud Saraswat Vaishnava Brahmins or otherwise called Bardeshkars.

"We are to-day (Plava Sanwatsar Vaishka shud 7th. Thursday Shake 1823) at the Partakali Mat at the feet of God and wish you to communicate your well being to me.

"Now with reference to your application personally presented before us while at Maha Shailya on the 9th. of Bhadrapad of Sharwari Sanwatsar year, on a notice being duly published and on due enquiries having been made regarding application and written statements with documentary evidence produced on behalf of both the parties Sasastikars and Bardeshkars and on due consideration of the same, we do pronounce and give to you all a decisive judgment on the point as follows:—

"You Gaud Saraswat Vaishnava Brahmins alias Bardeshkars are the disciples of our Matha and you do follow and behave in strict accordance with the tenets and principles of the Vaishnava Brahmin sect and we do admit and declare that this "Sausthana" matha recognises you in the same capacity and treat you on the same level and with the same regard as the Sasastkars in respect of the capacity to receive *Mantra* (holy teachings) and *Mudra Dharana* (receiving the

holy impressions of the Mudra) and of receiving the *Kala-mantraksata* (receiving the holy cocoanut and the rice reddened) and in accepting the *Hastodaka* (religious service of water for drinking at the commencement of the dinner) all the period round till now, and we do hold conclusively, after due hearing and consideration, that no sort of religious taint in any respect is ascribed or imputed and brought home to the Bardeshkar community; and though the ancient origin of the disunion cannot be authoritatively traced, we do wish and desire that the members of both the communities *inter-dine* and *intermarry* with mutual concurrence, the issue of the previous mandates from my predecessors in title of the matha being merely intended to preserve peace on special occasions in the community. Nothing more to be communicated for the present to you the prudent disciples of the matha."

2. In regard to the breaking up of the castes into sub-castes—the "England returned" question is the rock on which some of the Gaud Sarasvat castes are likely to split. Much depends upon the action that the several Sarasvat Swamis may take in the matter.

Firstly—The Smarta Swami of Kawle math (who has also Maths at Khanapur, Nasik, Kasi and Chitkali and is believed to be the successor of Gopal Padachari, the famous Guru of Sonkaracharya, pursues a policy of complete inaction in the matter. Several members of his flock the Gaud Sarasvat Smarthas have gone to England and returned to India and the question as to whether *prayaschat* may be administered to them or not has never been brought or been allowed to be raised before the Swami. Some of these England returned men are not perhaps publicly allowed to dine with their fellow castemen on the same *pankti*. But as a rule the England returned men are held in as high a esteem in the caste as any others and are allowed perfect freedom.

Secondly—The Smarta Swami of Chitapur in Shirali, the head of the Sarasvats, kept quiet over the question for nine years after the first voyage of the Hon. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar to England in 1883, but the question was forced upon His Holiness by some busy-bodies in the Sarasvat community, and the attitude taken by him has been an uncompromising one. The Swami refuses to admit into caste not only those, who

have themselves visited Europe, but even those, who have had *samparka* or contact with such men; and he has laid down that he cannot give *prayaschit* to those who again and again pollute themselves by such *samparka*. As for the England returned, they are *ipso facto* excommunicated for ever without any chance of being restored to caste even by *prayaschit*.

Thirdly—The Vaishnavite Swami of Partgal, who exercises jurisdiction over the Vaishnavite Gaud Sarasvats, the Sashtikars and Bardeshkars of North Kanara and Goa, has taken a line of action, which is not very decisive. Mr. Fundlikrao Pundit, a Bardeshkar and a high Court vakil practising at Sirsi, North Kanara, was on his return from England in August 1903 feted by the public, but the very next day some busy-bodies of his community reported the matter to the Swami of Partgal and requested him to excommunicate the England returned gentleman. Meanwhile Mr. Pundit had undergone the *prayaschit* administered by a Sashtikar Bhat of Sirsi at the instance of some of his caste-men. The *prayaschit* had not, however, been prescribed by the Swami. His Holiness has therefore ignored the penance performed by Mr. Pundit, and informed his caste-men that he leaves it to the unanimous decision of the Bardeshkar caste to settle the point, but that until then it would be well for them to keep aloof from the gentleman. This practically amounts to his excommunication, but his family is not included in this. It is hoped that the gentleman will be received back into the caste on his undergoing the penance that may be prescribed by the Swami. This would be a more tolerant attitude than that taken by the Chitrapur Swami.

Fourthly—The Swami of Kasimath at Cochin, the head of the Sashtikar Brahmans of South Kanara and Cochin, has had no occasion to pronounce an opinion in the matter.

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